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## CADMON'S HYMN

Oddly enough, when we consider the interest which Cadmon's Hymn has had for years, no study of all its versions has ever appeared in print. Variants have often been given with more or less fulness and accuracy, but the nearest approach to a complete study of them, that by Herr Wuest,<sup>1</sup> considers nine only of the fifteen versions of which we have knowledge and readings. Wuest, however, in the discovery of MSS D and P, and in his reconstruction from them of their prototype Y, clearly Northumbrian, clearly antedating Alfred by at least a century, and reading 'eordu' (5), has established beyond question what Zupitza long ago maintained with convincing logic,<sup>2</sup> that Alfred gave a current, and what he considered a true, version of the Hymn, differing from the original in dialect only. He has also made it clear that the Hymn appeared very early with the reading 'eordu' in line 5.

But when he goes on to find in his Y the source of the Alfredian versions the reader is impelled to review his arguments. Despite the conclusion of such scholars as Miller and Schipper in favor of T as our best MS of the Alfredian Bede, he prefers B, C, and Ca. Indeed, on the basis of his study of the nine lines of the Hymn he is moved to say: "Velleicht bestätigt eine erneute collation des ganzen textes von Aelfreds Bedaübersetzung, dass auch für diese nicht nur für den hymnus, die hss. B, C and Ca<sup>3</sup> den vorzug verdienen" (p. 224).

<sup>1</sup> *Zs. f. d. Alt.*, XLVIII, 205 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, XXII, 222.

<sup>3</sup> Wuest calls them C, O(w), U. See below, p. 2.

Yet we find him willing to reject 'ord' (4), the reading of these favored MSS, with a mere reference to the spelling of C as evidence, and also to read 'astealde' (4), against the reading 'onstealde' in all the Alfredian MSS except B. In both cases he thus gets the readings of his Y. The disagreement in line 9, where his favored MSS all read 'foldan' against the 'on foldu(m)' of O and Y, he declares insoluble. With the ground thus cleared he is ready to say: "Der nächste verwandte von W (=the Alfredian MSS) ist Y: vgl. v. 5b: beide zweigen hier von NO, auch von L (Badas lat. übersetzung des hymnus) ab" (p. 224).

A conclusion thus easily reached leaves the reader hardly convinced. Even were the relationship as he maintains, however, there remains a much more important question to be decided. Assuming that his Y dates from about 750, as he maintains and as is quite likely, which of the two early and almost contemporary readings is the more authoritative, that of the long familiar N of the Moore MS at Cambridge, or that of Wuest's reconstructed Y? This is the really important question, and if we are to settle it, clearly a new and complete study of the Hymn in all its versions is needed.

The Hymn occurs, as is well known, in the following versions, some complete, some fragmentary, and some lost or no longer decipherable.

1. T. MS Tanner 10. Bodleian. (Called B by Wuest.) Tenth century. Complete.
2. B. MS 41. C.C.C. Cambridge. (Called C by Wuest and CC by Grein-Wülker.) Middle eleventh century. Complete.
3. C. MS Cotton, Otho B XI. British Museum. (Called L(w) by Wuest.) End tenth century. Now totally illegible.
4. O. MS 279. C.C.C. Oxford. (Called O(w) by Wuest and C by Grein-Wülker.) End tenth century. Complete.
5. Ca. MS Kk. 3, 18. University Library, Cambridge. (Called U by Wuest and by Grein-Wülker.) Last of eleventh century. Complete.
6. W. MS 3. Winchester Cathedral. (Not given by Wuest or Grein-Wülker.) Late tenth century. Badly clipped but important variants preserved.
7. O<sub>1</sub>. MS Hatton 43. Bodleian. (Called O by Wuest and H by Grein-Wülker.) Late tenth century. Complete.
8. O<sub>2</sub>. MS 163. Bodleian. (Not given by Wuest; called B by Grein-Wülker.) About 1100. Badly rubbed, but important variants decipherable.

9. O<sub>8</sub>. MS Laud 243. Bodleian. (Not given by Wuest; called L by Grein-Wülker.) Twelfth century. Clipped by binder but practically complete.
10. O<sub>14</sub>. MS 31. Lincoln College, Oxford. (Not given by Wuest or by Grein-Wülker.) Twelfth or thirteenth century. Complete.
11. O<sub>17</sub>. MS 105. Magdalen College, Oxford. (Not given by Wuest or by Grein-Wülker.) Twelfth century. Complete.
12. "T." "MS, Trinity College, Cambridge." (Not given by Wuest or by Grein-Wülker). [MS lost.] Variants given by Wheeloc.
13. N. MS Kk. 5. 16 (Moore MS). Cambridge University Library. Probably before 737.<sup>1</sup> Complete.
14. D. MS 547 (334). Municipal Library, Dijon. Discovered by Wuest. Twelfth century. Complete. Marginal.
15. P. Cod. Lat. 5237. Bibliothèque National. Discovered by Wuest. Fifteenth century. Complete. Marginal.

To these should probably be added two others as follows:

16. L. Bede's Latin version. Complete in numerous MSS.
17. Y. Wuest's reconstruction of the prototype of D and P.

A tabulation of the important variants in the versions will be necessary to our study. We shall give the interesting W in full. From the other versions we shall give little except the significant variants. For ease in studying the versions we shall classify them on the basis of the most important single variant, 'ylda-eorthan,' (5). We shall also place together the Northumbrian representatives.

A glance at the tabulation shows an amazing agreement among the various occurrences of the Hymn. Clearly they all go back to one prototype. Clearly the Hymn was handed down as a labor of love by those who made their copies with great care. Before we turn our attention to the study of the MSS for their respective authority, however, let us note a few minor but interesting facts.

In the first place, with respect to the now illegible MS "T" and the now lost MS C, the readings of Wheeloc and of Smith cannot be accepted as authoritative. Wheeloc gives "T" with great fulness, indicating, supposedly, all variants from Ca, the MS he is following. He treats B in the same fashion. We can check his authority, then, by noting his treatment of B which is still extant. We quickly observe that he has failed to note as variants 'godes' and 'fela' (3), 'astealde' (4), 'hrofe' (5), and 'pe' (7). If he makes thus many

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Zupitza, *Zs. f. d. Alt.*, XX, 215; Schroer, *Archiv*, CXV, 67-69; and below, p. 13.

errors in recording the variants of his chosen MS B, we can hardly claim as authoritative a text built on his reading of variants in "T."<sup>1</sup>

Similarly as to C, we cannot construe the silence of Smith as indicating its readings. Smith was a careful editor, but seems to have considered the variants, aside from those in the MS B, as of little importance. Thus he fails to indicate in O the forms 'arest' (5), and 'dryhten' (8), and reads 'nu sculon' (1); in T he omits the important form 'or' (4); and even in B he fails to correct 'rofe' (6), like Wheeloc before him. Thus, unfortunately, we cannot think that we have an authoritative text of either of the lost versions of the Hymn.

I have spoken of the great fidelity of the versions to an original source. It is clear that almost all have been careful transcriptions of written versions before the scribe. A glance at the tabulation, however, shows O<sub>3</sub> to be an apparent exception. Plummer says: "Evidently the scribe or corrector of O<sub>3</sub> simply copied from a MS of the AS. vers."<sup>2</sup> I believe the evidence is strong against this interpretation. The version is in the left-hand margin of folio 82b, as bound, and was written in two different inks. The Hymn begins "Θ Nu we sceolan herian herian." The ink of the first four words and of the h and part of the e of the repeated 'herian' is faded, that of the rest of the Hymn is clear and good. The whole is written in a small hand and apparently the same hand. It would seem that the scribe changed inks and had his attention diverted by so doing to the extent that he repeated the last word he had written. The important thing for us to notice is, however, the fact that he omitted the words 'ord astealde' (4) and transposed the words 'halig Scyp-pend' (6) to the end of the poem. When we consider the practical uniformity of all the other MSS spread over several centuries we can, it seems to me, reach but one conclusion. The scribe of O<sub>3</sub> wrote his version from memory.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Both Schipper and Miller leave the impression that "T" and O<sub>2</sub> may be the same. It is true that the variants as recorded are in agreement. But a glance at the tabulation above will show that all the 'ylda' versions agree upon these same variants. In the spelling 'gehwyle' (3), however, "T" is in agreement with O<sub>14</sub> and none of the extant MSS give the 'euka' (9) which Wheeloc gives. I see no reason for thinking that "T" is the same as any of the extant MSS.

<sup>2</sup> *Venerabilis Bedas*, II, 252.

<sup>3</sup> Schipper, who of the editors gives most attention to O<sub>1</sub>, has, apparently through a mistake or confusion in his notes, given the readings of O<sub>3</sub> as those of O<sub>2</sub> (*Bibliotek der*

Let us now address ourselves to the task of trying to determine the relative authority of the manuscripts. It is at once evident that almost the only significant variant is 'ylda-eorpan' in line 5. This variant serves not only to classify the later versions but differentiates the earlier ones, N, D, and P, as well. Our first task would seem to be, then, to discover the degree of uniformity among the later 'ylda' and 'eorpan' versions in a search for the readings of their respective prototypes.

This task with the 'ylda' versions is not difficult. All read 'we' (1); 'gehwile' (gehwyle) (3); 'ord astealde,' where legible<sup>1</sup> (4); 'gesceop' (gescop), where legible (5); 'ylda' (5); 'tida' (8); and 'on foldum' (9). Only in 'earde' vs. 'geard(e)' (7) is there variation, and this disagreement, probably scribal, is unimportant. We have, then, the authority of six MSS in practical agreement and all springing from a source which read 'we' (1), 'ord' (4) (apparently), 'ylda' (8), and 'on foldum' (9), these being the significant readings in our

*Angela. Prosa, IV, XXIX.* As the O<sub>2</sub> version is very interesting, and as its readings have never been given as a whole, I subjoin them as far as their legibility will permit.

The Hymn occupies sixteen half-lines on the upper left-hand margin of folio 152b of the Latin version of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, listed as MS 163 in the Bodleian. The Latin version of the Hymn, beginning with a large capital N in red ink (Nunc laudari, etc.), is upon the same folio. The first of each line of the Saxon version has been lost in binding and the rest is very badly rubbed. The readings, so far as I can make them out, are as follows:

We scu(lan he)rgan (a)	(gesc)op (i) (yl)da (j) bearnū (k)
(heo)fon (b) (ricaes wear)d (c)	(heo) fon (l) (to) hrofe (m)
his (d)	(scip)pend (n)
(wur)c (e)	(mid)dan (o) ea(r)de (p)
(s)wa (f)	(e)ce (q)
(gehwl)lc	æ(fte)r (r) tida
ord (g)	(fyr)um on foldum (s)
(æ)rest (h)	(fre)a ælmihtig

(a) *a* partly erased; all but stem of *r* erased; *g* almost entirely erased; top of *a* erased. (b) Lower part of *o* and almost all of *n* erased. (c) Stem of *d* erased. (d) Lower part of *h* erased. (e) Almost certainly 'wurc' rather than 'weorc.' (f) Left stroke of *w* erased. (g) Impossible to tell whether *w* preceded these letters or not. (h) Only the top of *r* and the bottom of its stem left; the *e* almost entirely erased. (i) *o* and top of *p* legible; clipping by binder makes it impossible to say whether the letters *ge* were present but they probably were. (j) Schipper reads 'eorpe' (but cf. this note, above), but the reading 'ylda' seems to me certain. (l) The left half and stem of a letter are legible and indicate *d* rather than *p*. (2) The right hand stroke of the letter immediately before 'beornū' is legible. It could not possibly be *e* but is exactly the stroke of an *a*. (3) The space would be cramped for 'eorpe' but is just right for 'ylda.' (k) *e* and *a* partly erased. (l) Badly rubbed but still unmistakable. (m) Only the very top of the stem of *h* visible, (n) *p* and *e* almost entirely erased. (o) Part of *d* and of *n* erased. (p) Top of the *e* and left stroke of the *a* only remaining. (q) *c* partly erased. (r) *a* almost erased. (s) Part of *f*, nearly all of *o*, and part of *l* erased.

<sup>1</sup> 'word' in W is an obvious scribal error.

study. It must be remembered, however, that (1) the earliest of these MSS dates from the tenth century; (2) three of them are very late, twelfth or thirteenth centuries; and (3), *O<sub>2</sub>* is written on a MS which is itself a copy of *W*. At best, then, they represent a late form of the Hymn and their interrelations may be so intimate as to largely negative the force of their numbers.

Except in two lines the 'eorthan' group offer as complete agreement as the 'ylda' group, and the reading in one of these lines is of no great consequence. They agree on 'gehwaes' (3); 'eorpan' ('eorþe,' *O<sub>3</sub>*) (5); 'þa' (7); 'teode' (8); and 'foldan' (9) ('folden,' *O<sub>3</sub>*).<sup>1</sup> They do not agree as to the presence or absence of 'we' (1); and in line 4 some read 'or' and others 'ord.' These conflicting readings must claim our attention. Let us try to establish the reading in line 4 first. Of the MSS whose readings we know in this line (*O<sub>3</sub>* omits it entirely), one reads 'or' and the other three read 'ord.' This seeming weight of numbers in favor of the reading 'ord' is greatly lessened, however, if we recall the fact that *Ca* is almost certainly a transcript of *O*. In striking a true balance, therefore, we find one MS reading 'or,' one reading 'ord,' and one reading 'ord' by correction. Of these the earliest, and the one generally considered the best, reads 'or,' the latest reads 'ord' and the middle one in time, *O*, shows the correction. The reading in *O* becomes, thus, quite significant. Who made the correction, or rather, the emendation, no one can tell. The MS as a whole has been much emended (see Schipper). But it seems uncontrovertible that the original scribe of *O*, and his source, read 'or' as the scribe took elaborate pains to avoid the easy confusion of the two words; for he indicated the length of the *o*, not only by doubling it, but also by adding one of the few diaeritic marks to be found in the whole MS (see Schipper). On internal evidence alone, then, we should be justified in accepting 'ðr' as the original reading of *O*, and so of the source of *O*. And the external evidence points the same way. In the eighth century the word 'ðr' was as common as the word 'ord'; as time went on, however, it fell more and more into disuse, whereas the word 'ord' became more and more familiar as its synonym. In *Beowulf*, for instance, we find each used three times. In the *Crist* and the *Elene*, however, 'ðr' is not used at all, though

<sup>1</sup> 'fela' in *B* is an obvious scribal variant.

'ord' is used ten times. In Middle English 'ōr' had practically disappeared; Stratmann gives but three instances of it. It is to be remembered, too, that the meaning "beginning" is a derived one with 'ord,' a meaning it assumed gradually, whereas it is the normal meaning for 'ōr.' All this testimony favors the reading of 'ōr' for the parent of the 'eorthan' group. Conclusive in its favor, then, must be the fact that it is the reading of N, and of D and P (= Y). For, where the early MSS are in agreement, their weight is very great. We have no hesitation, therefore, in postulating 'ōr' as the reading of the ur-eorthan MS.

The situation regarding 'we' is curiously similar. Of the three MSS we have been studying, T omits it, B writes it, and O has it by emendation. The logic of our study of 'or' vs. 'ord' would therefore favor minus 'we' as the reading of the source MS. It is to be noted, too, that the other early MS, C, omits the word (so Smith). Observe, too, that T makes no error in the version of the Hymn unless this be an error. Moreover, the same omission occurs in N, and in the early history of Northumbrian the first and second person pronouns were sometimes omitted.<sup>1</sup> Whatever Cadmon wrote, it seems likely, then, that the ur-eorthan MS omitted 'we.' We may thus postulate as its readings, minus 'we' (1), 'gewhæs' (3), 'or onstealde' (4), 'eorþan' (5), 'pa' (6), 'teode' (8), and 'foldan' (9). This version differs from that accepted by Wuest only in 'onstealde' (4) and 'foldan' (9). The first of the differences is inconsequential. The reading 'foldan' (9), however, agrees with N, if Wuest is right in reading 'fold-' (N) as genitive, and I think he is. Thus the Alfredian versions look to N in line 9 and to Y in line 5. As the reading in line 5 is the more significant one, Wuest may still be right in his attitude toward the mutual relations of W and Y, though the case is hardly as clear as he seems to think.

The larger and more important problem still confronts us, however—the search for the most authoritative text. To facilitate this search let us now place in tabular form the readings we have arrived at for the ur-ylda and the ur-eorthan versions, together with the readings of the early Northumbrian versions, N and Y, the Latin version, L, and—for convenience' sake—the readings which our

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Sarrazin, *Eng. Studien*, XXXVIII, 183 ff., and *Genesis A*, 850 and 1098.

further study will indicate as the probable readings of the Hymn itself as originally sung by Cadmon.

	<i>ur-ylda</i>	<i>ur-eorhan</i>	N	Y	L	<i>ur-hymn</i>
Verse 1.....	we	( )?	( )	we	.....	( )?
Verse 3.....	gehwilc	gehwaes	gihuæs	gihuæs	.....	gihuæs
Verse 4.....	{ ord astæalde	or onstealde	or astelidae	or astalde	exitit	or astelidae
Verse 5.....	ylda	eorhan	aelda	eordu	hominum	aelda
Verse 7.....	( )	tha	tha	da	dehinc	tha
Verse 8.....	tida	teode	tiadae	tiade	creavit	tiadæ
Verse 9.....	on foldum	foldan	fold*	on foldu	.....	fold*

It becomes at once evident that the Hymn was transmitted in two distinct forms almost from the beginning, for the N version and the Y version, older by at least two centuries than any other versions, classify at once as 'ylda' and 'eorhan' versions respectively. It is also to be noted that, despite the faithfulness of transcription, there is variation between both N and Y and between them and the later versions of their respective groups. Thus the agreement which these later versions show among themselves was taken on in the later history of the transmission of the Hymn. In a search for the reading of the Hymn itself, therefore, the joint reading of N and Y in any given case must be accepted as conclusive. We are thus able to determine the reading of all but three half-lines with comparative ease. Clearly the correct reading for line 3 is 'gihuæs,' the reading of all the MSS except those of the 'ylda' group.<sup>1</sup> Just as clearly the reading in verse 4 is 'or' and in verse 7 is 'tha' (cf. L). There thus remain to be established only the readings in verses 1, 5, and 9. To this task we must now apply ourselves.

It is to be noticed, first, that in the presence or absence of 'we' (1) and in the reading in verse 9, there is not only disagreement between the two early MSS but between them and their later group representatives. From such a confusion it is difficult to see any clear and convincing reading. Nor is a solution of these lines important. Yet there must be some weight of evidence to be found and some choice

<sup>1</sup> Wuest, who seems to be unaware of the readings of the 'ylda' group, prints 'gehwilc' with an exclamation point.

must be sought for the reading of the Hymn itself. We must therefore sift the evidence.

In favor of the reading of 'we' is its presence in eleven of the MSS and the strong tendency in Anglo-Saxon poetry to begin with a pronoun (cf. *Beowulf*, *Exodus*, *Daniel*, etc.). On the other hand, the omission of the pronoun in early Northumbrian is demonstrable, as we have seen above (p. 7), and our study of the 'eorthan' group led us to the belief that the 'we' was omitted in its source. Certainly it is omitted in the two best Alfredian MSS, T and C. The weight of the evidence seems, then, to favor the omission of 'we' in the original hymn, and we have so indicated it above. We do so with a question, however, as the evidence is not conclusive.

Even more inconclusive is the choice of a reading in line 9. The reading with and without the preposition is equally good so far as idiom is concerned, and both readings have equal manuscript support. I have chosen, again with a question, the reading without the preposition, because 'firum fold' makes a more perfect appositive for 'aelda bearnum' (5), and the style of the poem is marked by such repetitions.<sup>1</sup>

If the absence of conclusive readings in these two lines is immaterial, the same cannot be said of the reading in line 5. For here is the most important single crux in our study. A convincing conclusion as to the reading of this line will go far to the establishing of the relative authority of the 'ylda' and 'eorthan' versions, and thus to the reading of the original Hymn.

At this point there is nothing to be gained by studying the later MSS. We must center our attention on N, Y, and L. It is interesting to observe, first, that the two men most instrumental in handing down the Hymn, Bede and Alfred, each choosing, no doubt, what he considered the true version, chose differing ones. Bede chose the 'ylda' form; note 'hominum' (L), and the fact that all the 'ylda' versions are marginal on Bede MSS. The a priori evidence, then, favors N, as Bede may be expected to have known the true form better than Alfred two centuries later. But we must have more certain evidence than this if our conclusion is to carry conviction. It becomes necessary, then, to make a very thorough study of N and

<sup>1</sup> As I said above, I take 'fold' to be a genitive, as does Wuest.

Y in an effort to discover, if possible, their relative antiquity and, therefore, authority. That we may do this the better I shall give these two versions in full in parallel columns.

N	Y <sup>1</sup>
a	
1. nu scylun hergen hefaenicae uard,	Nu pue sculun herga hefunicae pueard,
2. metudæs maecti end his modgi- danc,	metudaes mehti and his modgedanc,
3. uerc uuldfurfadur; sue he uundra gihuaeas,	puerc puldfurfadur; suae he pundra gihuaeas,
4. eci dryctin, <sup>2</sup> or astelidae,	eci drichtin, or astalde.
5. he aerist scop aelda barnū	he aerist <sup>3</sup> scoop eordu bearnum
6. heben til hrofe, haleg scepen.	efen to hrofe, halig sceppend:
7. Tha middungeard <sup>4</sup> moneynnae- uard,	da middumgeard moncynnes pueard,
8. eci dryctin, æfter tiadæ	eci drichtin, æfter tiade
9. firum fold <sup>5</sup> , frea allmechtig.	firum on foldu, frea allmechtig.

It may be well to remind ourselves first that Y is derived from the work of two different and late scribes who did not know the Anglo-Saxon alphabet, as is shown by their use of *p* for *w* where knowledge of script or vocabulary would have rendered the error impossible. Their transcriptions were, then, slavish, and as accurate as they could make them. The authority of Y, as a result, is as great as if actually found on an early MS. We must treat it, therefore, with just as much respect as we treat N. What, then, of the relative authority of these two versions?

As has already been said, both versions go back, obviously, to the eighth century. Indeed, both preserve clear evidence of seventh-century forms and usages. If this were not so there could be no true dispute as to the authoritative version. As perpetuating seventh-century forms and usages may be noted the treatment of *u*, *i*, and *æ* in unstressed syllables;<sup>6</sup> the uniform absence of *u/o* umlaut of *e*;<sup>7</sup> the writing of *d* for *b* in 'modgidane' (N2), 'modgedanc' (Y2),

<sup>1</sup> As reconstructed by Wuest.

<sup>2</sup> 'ye' written over an erased 'in.'

<sup>3</sup> This reconstruction by Wuest is probably right, though both scribes mutilated the word badly. Cf. Lindelof, 75; Bulb., 361.

<sup>4</sup> The first *d* in 'mildun' is altered from an *n*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. S., 44; Bulb., 360.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Bulb., 229.

'eordu' (Y5), and 'da' (Y7);<sup>1</sup> of *b* for *f* in 'heben' (N6);<sup>2</sup> and of *th* in 'tha' (N7);<sup>3</sup> and the forms 'mæcti' and 'mechti' (l. 2);<sup>4</sup> and 'astelidæ' (N4).<sup>5</sup> Seventh-century, too, though persisting to the tenth, are the absence of breaking before *l* plus a consonant in both versions,<sup>6</sup> and before *r* plus a consonant in N.<sup>7</sup>

The question is not, however, whether the versions preserve early forms and usages; the question is, Which shows most the influence of late forms and usages? Wuest says: "Nach allem ist die sprache von Y ungefähr eben so alttümlich als die von N: die vorlage von D und P ist also etwa um 750 in Northumbrian geschrieben" (p. 222). And again: "Auf hohes Alter des textes weisen auch die in unbetonten mittel- und endsilben vorwiegenden 'u' und 'i,'—Y ist sogar st. alttümlicher als N,—vgl. v. 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8" (p. 221). Do the facts bear him out? As to the words in *u*, there is only one in Y which is not also found with the same vowel spelling in N—the word 'hefunricaes' (1). Unfortunately for his argument, however, this word shows a later form in Y than in N where it reads 'hefaenricaes.'<sup>8</sup>

Nor is his case any better with respect to *i*, for Y is the only MS to depart from the consistent use of this vowel, the form 'modgedanc' (Y2), as stated by Wuest himself, being later in spelling than 'modgidanc' (N2).<sup>9</sup> The word 'haleg' (N6) is only a partial exception, as 'haleg,' though later than 'halaeg,' is yet a true spelling (\*-ag>aeg>eg), whereas the spelling in Y, 'halig,' is the result of a confusion of '-ag' and '-ig.'<sup>10</sup> What difference there is, then, between Y and N in their treatment of *u* and *i* favors N as the elder.

The generally later date of Y becomes clearly evident, however, from a comparative study of the use of the digraph in the two MSS whether it is spelled *æ* or *ae*. In no case does the digraph appear in

<sup>1</sup> Cf. S., 197.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, 199, note.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, 191.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, 269, n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> See discussion below, p. 14.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. S., 151. 3, 158. 2; Bulb., 134; Lin., 53.

<sup>7</sup> See below, p. 12.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Bulb., 569. 1; A. S. Cook, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XVII, 334.

For 'eordu' in Y we have 'aelda' in N, so the forms cannot be compared. Be it said, however, that the final *u* here bears no testimony as to date, the letter being common in all periods of Northumbrian. (Cf. Carpenter, *Bon. Beitr.*, II, 432, 433, 434, 435.)

<sup>9</sup> On *i* for stable *y* in 'moncines' (Y4) and 'drichtin' (Y4 and 8), see below, p. 12.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Bulb., 360, 366c and An. 3.

Y and not in N, whereas it does appear in N three times where it does not appear in Y, 'astelidæ' (4), 'moneynnæs' (7), and 'tiadæ' (8). This difference may seem slight, but more than a difference in numbers is involved. Let us take 'moneynnæs' for study first. Y reads 'moncينnes,' though the practice of its scribe in all other cases is to use the digraph for the genitive case. The psychology of the lapse becomes clear when we note that the scribe used *i* for stable *y* in the radical syllable of the second member of the compound. Having thus, unconsciously, used a later, and to him the usual, spelling in the radical syllable, it was natural that he should use the later and contemporary spelling in the unstressed inflectional ending.<sup>1</sup>

Nor does this word contain the only evidence there is of the writing, consciously or unconsciously, of later and contemporary forms by the scribe of Y, for we have *i* for stable *y* again in 'drichtin' (4, 8), and of *ch* for earlier *c* not only in this word 'drichtin,' but also in 'mechti' (2) and 'allmechtig' (9).<sup>2</sup> N uses *c* in all these cases.

The point should be clear. We are not dealing with a few variations in spelling; we are learning the general practice of a scribe. And with this knowledge comes a general knowledge of the period in which he wrote. The evidence becomes still clearer as we turn to the remaining words where N uses the digraph and Y does not, the weak verbs 'astelidae' (4) and 'tiadæ' (8). Y reads 'astalde' and 'tiade.' Clearly the scribe of Y represents a period enough later than the scribe of N for *e* to have become the uniform termination of the preterit singular third person of weak verbs. Where evidence of scribal habit is thus strong there can be little question as to relative dates.

And the evidence is not all in, for there is other clear evidence of the appreciably earlier date of N. This evidence includes the breaking of *a* before *r* plus a consonant in Y (cf. 'pueard,' 1, 7; 'bearnum,' 5; and '-geard,' 7), and the loss of final *n* in the infinitive 'herga' (1). It was the practice of early Northumbrian to keep a

<sup>1</sup> Wuest says, "für festes *y* nach palatalen braucht nicht auf spätere Denkmäler beschränkt zu sein," but cf. S. 31N and Bulb., 307 and *c*.

<sup>2</sup> Wuest says: "Zu den genannten altenglischenkeiten treten 'cht' v. 2, 4, 9"; but cf. S. 221, N1; and A. S. Cook, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XVII, 387. The use of *e* in the radical syllable of 'allmechtig' (N9) represents umlaut rather than a variation between *ae* and *e*. It is, thus, evidence of Southern influence rather than of late date. (Cf. Bulb., 180b and An. 3.) Note, too, that N reads *c* whereas Y reads *ch*, and that in the noun 'maecti' (2) N has the unumlaute form.

unbroken before *r* plus a consonant;<sup>1</sup> indeed, even so late as the tenth century the unbroken form seems to have predominated.<sup>2</sup> A single exception seems to have been the word ‘-geard,’<sup>3</sup> of which I have been able to find but one early instance without breaking, ‘aethiliaerdi.’<sup>4</sup> Despite the generally later date of palatalization, one suspects here an early example of it. At any rate, the breaking in *N* in this one case cannot carry much weight against the great predominance of later forms we have found in *Y*. May we add, too, that the loss of the *n* in ‘herga’ (Y1), is a sure evidence of late date, for though in late Northumbrian the loss of this *n* in infinitives is uniform,<sup>5</sup> yet in early Northumbrian Professor Cook has been able to discover but one example, ‘cnyssa,’ *Leiden Riddle*.<sup>6</sup> It seems clear, then, not from a few forms that have crept in, but from scribal practice, that *N* is appreciably earlier than *Y* and so the more authoritative MS. How much earlier we must now inquire.

The latest date ascribable to *N* on external evidence is 735-37. For though authorities on paleography differ as to the identity of the hand of *N* and that of the MS proper, all seem agreed that they are coeval. And the probabilities bear them out. For it seems probable that the Hymn was written down before the chronological notes which follow it upon the page, as a scribe, no matter how small a hand he wrote, would hardly have crowded the Hymn in over these notes with more than half a page vacant below, whereas, as Mr. Schroér has already pointed out,<sup>7</sup> if he wrote first he would have begun, naturally, at the top of the page, close to the upper edge, in conformity with the uniform practice in the MS proper. On the other hand, *Y* may well date from about 750 as Mr. Wuest maintains, for it was about the middle of the eighth century that the later spellings we have found to characterize *Y* began to be current.<sup>8</sup>

Despite what Wuest says, then, about *Y* being on the whole as old as *N* and very possibly the more authentic, we have found that *N* is

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ‘tharf,’ *Bede's Death Song*; ‘warp,’ *Leiden Riddle*; and Bulb., 132c.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Lind., 48.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Bulb., 132c.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Sweet, *Oldest Eng. Texts*, p. 428. ‘middengerd,’ *Li.*, is obviously a misspelling (cf. Lind., 48, An. 1).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Lind., 208.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XVII, 388; see also Bulb., 557 An.

<sup>7</sup> *Archiv.*, CXV, 67-69.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Bulb., 307 and c; 360; 369, etc.

appreciably the older. Indeed, N must be an exceedingly faithful copy of a MS of the first quarter of the eighth century or even of the last of the seventh. The only forms not clearly seventh-century are 'end' (2), 'sue' (3), 'haleg' (6), 'scepen' (6), and 'allmectig' (9); just possibly 'middungeard' (7). But 'end' is simply a misspelling; 'allmectig,' as we have seen, probably owes its *e* to umlaut; 'haleg' is a better form than 'halig' (Y), and the word 'middungeard' seems to have shown breaking from earliest times. Furthermore 'scepen,' though later than 'scæpen,' is yet earlier than palatalization under the influence of initial *sc*,<sup>1</sup> and the form 'sue' may be older than 'swæ.'<sup>2</sup> The weight of these exceptions, if they be exceptions, is therefore slight, particularly as the spelling of these words may be entirely due to the actual scribe of N as it appears in the Moore MS.

Even were they all late spellings, however, they could weigh but little against the irresistible force of a consistent use of *u*, *i*, and *æ* in unstressed syllables for later *e*; of the absence of breaking before *r* as well as *l* plus a consonant (on 'middungeard' see above); of the retention of final *n* in the infinitives; of the retention of stable *y* and of *c* for later *ch*; of the old preterite singular ending *æ*; and, be it added, most interesting of all, of the very old colloquial form, 'astelidae' (4). 'Stellan' belongs to that category of weak verbs which form their preterite by the immediate addition of *d* to the stem. As a result these verbs do not show umlaut (cf. 'astalde' [Y4]). But in very old Northumbrian at times these verbs do show umlaut. The spelling in N, then, shows the perpetuation of one of these rare umlauted forms. Not only that, but it preserves the umlauting vowel, and thus gives us one of the exceedingly rare examples of the full old ending '-idae'.<sup>3</sup> Whatever the actual date of N, then, there can be no doubt that its prototype antedated the writing of the *Historia*. It could, indeed, have been coeval with Cadmon himself.

Whether the 'eorthan' or Y form had also sprung up before the writing of the *Historia* or not, then, it seems perfectly clear that the 'ylda' or N version represents the earlier and authentic version of the Hymn.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bulb., 168, An. 2; 296, and c.

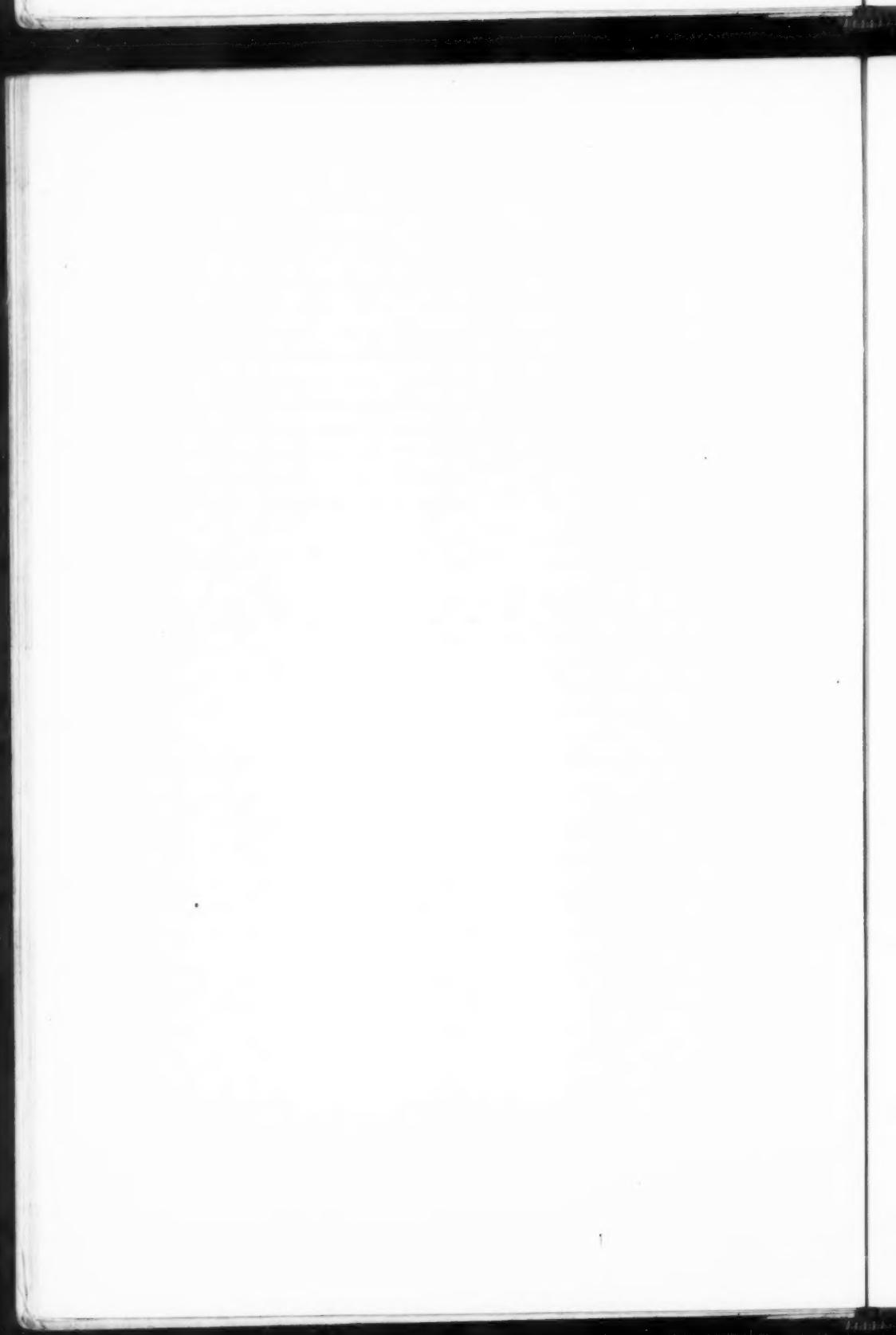
<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gothic 'swē'; S., 150. 1; Bulb., 103 An.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. S., 401. 2; 44. 1; Lin., 222a.

Now the choice made by Bede takes on new weight. Whether he knew Cadmon personally we cannot say, though we like to think so. Certainly as a boy he might well have been attracted to the shrine of the first English Christian poet as Pope was attracted to the shrine of Dryden many centuries later. At any rate, he grew up in the same locality so that, were there two versions of the Hymn extant before he wrote, he would have had every opportunity to select the true one. I do not see any grounds, then, for doubt. Certainly we must continue to look upon the N version, as found in the Moore MS at Cambridge, as not only the oldest in date, but as representing with authority the actual reading of the Hymn itself.

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## COLERIDGE'S MANUSCRIPT LECTURES

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When H. N. Coleridge first edited the fragments of literary criticism which his uncle had left behind him, he explained the nature of his materials as much as was necessary at the time. But Coleridge's position in English literature, having since become unassailable, demands that the text of his writings should be assured, as much as is possible. Particularly is scholarly investigation necessary in dealing with the *Literary Remains*, which are known to have required much editing. How far can we be sure of Coleridge's intention in the text which we now possess?

This question can now be answered more fully than has hitherto been possible. In the Manuscript Room of the British Museum, among other Coleridge holographs, can be found a large part of the literary criticism which Coleridge left behind him at his death. The two volumes of manuscripts listed as Additional 34,225 and Egerton 2800 were acquired by the British Museum from Ernest Hartley Coleridge in 1892 and 1895 respectively. They are supplemented by two editions of Shakspere, with copious marginalia by S. T. Coleridge, which make up most of the notes on individual plays published by Coleridge's literary executors. One of these is Coleridge's own two-volume Shakspere<sup>1</sup> with blank interleaving for notes. The other is an eight-volume edition<sup>2</sup> belonging formerly to Coleridge's friend, Morgan. This latter edition had no interleaving, and therefore afforded opportunities only for such short notes as could be scribbled on the margin. A careful collation of these manuscript documents with the published text gives some very interesting information in regard to Coleridge's posthumous literary criticism.

The fragments in the British Museum account for the following sections in the Bohn edition of the *Lectures on Shakspere: Greek Drama*, except the last paragraph; *Progress of the Drama*; pages 211-13 of *The Drama Generally and Public Taste*; about two-thirds of

<sup>1</sup> Printed for John Stockdale, London, 1807. British Museum pressmark, C. 61. h. 7.

<sup>2</sup> London, 1773. Edited by Lewis Theobald. British Museum pressmark, C. 45. a. 21.

*Shakspere's Judgment Equal to his Genius*,<sup>1</sup> pages 237-41 of *Recapitulation and Summary*, with omissions; *Beaumont and Fletcher*; and *Massinger*, besides the fragment on page 395, and the chronological classification of Shakspere's plays on pages 246-48. The marginalia on Coleridge's and Morgan's Shaksperes account for most, but not all, of the notes on individual plays. Of the Bohn edition of *Miscellanies* the following fragments appear in the manuscripts: *Wit and Humour* (pages 121-26), with slight omissions; *Sterne*; and about half of *Dreams and Apparitions*.

There are some interesting unpublished fragments and omitted passages, which I shall publish separately. But at present my chief object will be to describe the patching and revision of the present text. The lecture on *Greek Drama*, which is largely borrowed from Schlegel, is made up from two separate notes joined together by H. N. Coleridge with a short transitional paragraph supplied on page 192. One<sup>2</sup> of these notes is on the general character of the Greek drama, and the other<sup>3</sup> on the Greek dramatic chorus; and they undoubtedly belong together. Both have the watermark 1810, agreeing with their known origins in Schlegel's lectures.

The section called *Progress of the Drama* is patched up from four distinct fragments, among which only the first has a strict relation to the section title supplied, as usual, by H. N. Coleridge. The first fragment<sup>4</sup> (pp. 195-202) is based on Malone's *Historical Account of the English Stage*. Besides the internal evidence and the reference on page 199, there is a short note omitted from page 198, before the description of the German mystery play, which refers specifically to Malone's work.<sup>5</sup> Coleridge's travels furnished the reference to modern mysteries in Italy, the description of the German play, and perhaps the attack on Catholic moral teachings. On page 198 an important change has been made to smooth away the evidences of patching. In the manuscript<sup>6</sup> Coleridge says; "I have myself two manuscripts which I transcribed *ten* [my italics, not Coleridge's] years ago at Helmstadt, in Germany." The editor printed "a few

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 225-30, with omissions.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.

<sup>3</sup> Egerton 2800, pp. 10-12.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 15-18.

<sup>5</sup> ("Historical Account of the English Stage, p. 25, In the ancient—to p. 26 populace—) again—15 with an introduction of my own. . . ."—*Ibid.*, p. 16 verso.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16 verso.

years ago" instead of "ten years ago," a change which obscures an interesting piece of chronological evidence. If Coleridge's uncertain memory was not in error, this note was written for the first course of lectures, in 1808, though probably used over and over again.

The transitional sentence<sup>1</sup> at the bottom of page 202 is, of course, a link—supplied by H. N. Coleridge. The note<sup>2</sup> which follows, on the contrast between romantic and classic drama (pp. 202-5), is obviously later than the preceding fragment, as is indicated by a watermark,<sup>3</sup> 1810, as well as by the obligations to Schlegel.

The next fragment,<sup>4</sup> on theatrical illusion (pp. 205-7), is likewise introduced by a link sentence<sup>5</sup> supplied by the editor. The 1805 watermark permits a possibility of a very early date, before any of the lectures, as is the case with the next fragment<sup>6</sup> on pages 207-8, showing an 1804 watermark. The patching of these two notes together is natural, as the last two sentences on theatrical illusion (p. 207) belong to the second fragment, not to the first. These transitional sentences were transposed from the end of the last fragment to the beginning, in order to form a connection, and perhaps belong to a distinctly different occasion. Several interesting sentences were necessarily omitted by the editor in his patching. The fragment on theatrical illusion has a heading, "Desultory Remarks on the present state of the Higher Drama," which indicates a more extended purpose, perhaps for an essay rather than for a lecture. The other fragment, which occupies only a paragraph in the printed text, begins as a list of numbered points for a lecture of which the first is omitted by the editor, though it is significantly defensive, "Illustration of principles my main object," writes Coleridge; "therefore not so digressive as might appear." And on page 208, after the sentence dealing with the danger of a false ideal, comes this omitted note "supermoralize and demoralize." The paragraph as we have it is followed by an acknowledgment to predecessors in his views, perhaps meaning Schlegel: "Different states and degrees of delusion partly

<sup>1</sup> "And here let me pause. . . ."

<sup>2</sup> Egerton 2800, pp. 19-20.

<sup>3</sup> The preceding fragment has no watermark.

<sup>4</sup> Additional 34,225, p. 56.

<sup>5</sup> "And here it will be necessary. . . ."

<sup>6</sup> Egerton 2800, p. 21 recto.

shown by others before me." Then follow the two transposed sentences on dramatic illusion.

The first three pages of the section entitled by the editor *The Drama Generally and Public Taste* is a distinct interpolated fragment,<sup>1</sup> and does not appear in the British Museum manuscripts. The last paragraph of the preceding section, which has just been discussed, continues<sup>2</sup> without break on page 211 and ends with page 213, and has an early watermark, 1804, which permits a possible date much earlier than that of the fragments joined with it. The interpolated fragment, from its first sentence and its similarity to a passage in the second lecture of 1811-12, as reported by Collier,<sup>3</sup> may belong to the second series of Coleridge's lectures. The reference to a definition of poetry in the preceding lecture does not agree with this date, as the first lecture of 1811-12, if Collier's report is complete, contained no such definition. But the definition does appear in the second lecture, and Coleridge was in the habit of diverging widely from his notes. The note beginning at the bottom of page 213, and continuing to the end of the section, is not represented in the manuscripts of the British Museum, and may be a continuation of the first fragment. The second sentence on page 217 refers to thirty years of Shaksperian study and reading since the age of ten, which dates the fragment<sup>4</sup> as part of the notes prepared for the lectures of 1811-12.

The next section, on *Shakspere as a Poet generally*, is not represented in the manuscripts of the British Museum, which do not appear again in the published text till page 225 (*Shakspere's Judgment Equal to his Genius*). The patchwork nature of the text is again very evident. On page 225, the bottom paragraph, ending on the next page ("Assuredly . . . ."), is a separate fragment,<sup>5</sup> which seems, from its 1817 watermark and its omitted introductory sentence, designed to begin the 1818-19 course or perhaps the 1818 course of lectures. "Once more . . . . I have undertaken the task of criticizing the works of that great dramatist whose own name has become their best and most expressive epithet," reads the omitted sentence.

<sup>1</sup> To the end of the quotation from Bacon.

<sup>2</sup> Egerton 2800, pp. 21 verso to 22.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 49-50, Bohn ed. of *Lectures*.

<sup>4</sup> Ashe points this out in his note on p. 217.

<sup>5</sup> Egerton 2800, p. 25.

Here one of the most curious instances of patching appears. This paragraph is apparently marked as the first sheet of a continuous lecture to begin a course and then to pass to the *Tempest*, as in the lectures of 1818-19. The transitional sheet (No. 3) is lost, but pages<sup>1</sup> 4, 5, 6, and 7 appear on pages 275-76 of the Bohn edition, patched with *another* passage on dramatic illusion from a different source, the blank pages before the *Tempest* in Coleridge's edition of Shakspere. The identity of subject and the connection of both notes with the *Tempest* indicate that Coleridge himself may have designed the two for use together, perhaps also with the first two pages of manuscript which now appear on pages 225-26.

The next paragraph (pp. 226-27) does not appear in the manuscripts. The next,<sup>2</sup> on page 227 ("Let me . . . ."), is also an introductory paragraph like the one first discussed. It is headed "Lecture," and begins with an introductory sentence which has been recast by the editor. "The subject of the present lecture is no less than a question submitted to your understandings emancipated from national prejudice." This section has another omission which is of especial interest, as acknowledging an obligation to Schlegel. I italicize the omitted words. "The true ground of the mistake, *as has been well remarked by a continental critic*, lies in the confounding mechanical regularity with organic form."<sup>3</sup> The editor made a serious mistake in suppressing this acknowledgment.

The paragraph on page 230 is another separate fragment<sup>4</sup> in the manuscripts. The patchwork nature of the whole section on *Shakspere's Judgment*, does not, however, cause the usual tendency to repetition and disorderly organization so evident in the *Lectures*: in this particular section, there is no marked digression. The separate fragments harmonize, and, if written at separate times, were probably used together, except for the first fragment mentioned.

The next section is headed by the editor, *Recapitulation and Summary of the Characteristics of Shakspere's Dramas*. In his note he tells us that the lecture was "for the most part communicated by Mr. Justice Coleridge." As one would expect, the manuscripts<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27 (recto and verso).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24 verso; Bohn ed., p. 229.

<sup>4</sup> Additional 34,225, p. 48 recto.

<sup>5</sup> (a) Egerton 2800, p. 40; (b) Additional 34,225, p. 51.

cover only part of this material, from page 237 to 241, with omissions.<sup>1</sup> The transitional sentence on page 237 ("It seems to me. . . .") is supplied by the editor. The character of Polonius on page 238, the paragraph numbered three (pp. 238-39), and the last paragraph of the lecture ("Lastly, in Shakspere . . . .," pp. 241-42) do not appear in the manuscripts. When number three (p. 238) is dropped out, the other paragraphs are numbered continuously, up to six, instead of seven. Five and six (six and seven in the Bohn edition, pp. 240-41) are in a different scrap,<sup>2</sup> with a watermark, 1817. One textual error<sup>3</sup> (on p. 237) should be recorded here, where H. N. Coleridge revised and changed the meaning of an important sentence. "Passion in Shakspere generally displays libertinism, but involves morality," says the text mysteriously. Coleridge actually wrote, "Passion in Shakspere displays, libertinism involves, morality"—a very different idea.

The next material which appears in the manuscripts<sup>4</sup> is the chronological classification of Shakspere's plays on pages 246-48. This is *not* dated 1802 on the manuscript, as in the printed text,<sup>5</sup> but other jottings on the paper indicate that the classification was part of a scheme for a three-volume book on Shakspere, perhaps one of the numerous projects in Coleridge's mind in 1802, when at Keswick. Two corrections are needed. After the plays listed in the "First Epoch," omitting *Pericles*, read as follows: "Übergangswerke—Pericles (explained by his having placed himself in a new world of Dichtung und dramatische Märchen)." And at the beginning of the "Third Epoch" should be listed "Venus and Adonis and the first Sonnets."

Although the marginal notes on individual plays undoubtedly formed a great part of Coleridge's lectures, the next manuscript fragments<sup>6</sup> written in the actual form of lectures are those on *Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher, and Massinger* (Section V, Bohn). The note

<sup>1</sup> But compare the first lecture at Bristol.

<sup>2</sup> Additional 34,225, p. 51.

<sup>3</sup> Egerton 2800, p. 40 recto.

<sup>4</sup> Additional 34,225, pp. 52 verso to 53 recto.

<sup>5</sup> The two dates on p. 294 are also supplied by the editor. The first, 1810, is probably correct, or nearly so, as the note comes from the margin of Morgan's Shakspere (II, 272). I have no opinion on the second date, 1818.

<sup>6</sup> Additional 34,225, pp. 57-67.

on Jonson (pp. 396-97) does not appear in the manuscript. The notes on Beaumont and Fletcher and on Massinger appear as continuous essays. But the first paragraph on page 400 ("The plays. . . ."), the first half of page 402 (down to "I can with less pain. . . ."), all of paragraph two on Massinger except the first sentence (pp. 403-4), and the last paragraph on page 406 are missing. There is, however, no evidence of patchwork in these lectures. In like manner, about half of the lecture on *Wit and Humour* in the Bohn *Miscellanies* (pp. 121-26) is missing in the manuscripts,<sup>1</sup> but the essay seems to be continuous, as is the essay on Sterne,<sup>2</sup> which is complete in the manuscripts, except that the quotations are indicated merely by references.

H. N. Coleridge unfortunately omitted here another acknowledgment to German criticism, which should appear on page 123, of the *Miscellanies*. In the second sentence (after "person"), read as follows: "but when we contemplate a finite in reference to the Infinite, consciously or unconsciously, Humor (so says Jean Paul Richter). . . ."<sup>3</sup> This sentence is apparently transposed to page 125, and the acknowledgment to Richter is omitted.

The last manuscript material with which we shall deal is the note on *Dreams and Apparitions*, on page 163 of the *Miscellanies*. This is one of the most characteristic instances of the patching forced upon the editor of Coleridge's papers. It is a combination of two fragments in the British Museum manuscripts, and a third, perhaps a continuation of one of these, from some other source. The two British Museum scraps are different drafts of the same lecture; and each begins with slightly different drafts of the note on dramatic illusion, which appears in the section on *Progress of the Drama*.<sup>4</sup> In the *Miscellanies*, the continuation of the first manuscript draft<sup>5</sup> appears in the second and last paragraphs of *Dreams and Apparitions*; the continuation of the second draft<sup>6</sup> (after "to illustrate the point," *Lectures*, p. 207) appears as the first paragraph of *Dreams and Apparitions*!

<sup>1</sup> Additional 34,225, pp. 74-80.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 68-73. The first page of this essay has a *late* watermark, 1815.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 75 recto.

<sup>4</sup> Bohn, *Lectures*, pp. 205-7.

<sup>5</sup> Additional 34,225, pp. 54 verso to 55 recto.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 56 verso.

These fragments may be very early in date, as the one which seems to be the first draft has a watermark, 1805.

This detailed account will give some idea of the materials used by Coleridge for his lectures, and by his nephew for the *Literary Remains*, as we can be fairly sure that the material which does not appear in the British Museum manuscripts is of a similar nature. Among a few omitted fragments which I hope to publish, is one<sup>1</sup> on Petrarch's *Africa*, watermarked 1817, which bears this memorandum, "Then turn to the Lecture Book." The watermarks, and such internal evidence as the repetition and duplication in reports of different sets of lectures, indicate the miscellaneous origin of the different scraps of criticism which Coleridge accumulated at various periods of his life. The "Lecture Book" must have been used over and over again, but with constant variations, due to Coleridge's extemporaneous digressions. Often he must have kept fairly close to his notes, judging from a comparison of the reported lectures with the text printed from the manuscripts.

So far as patching is concerned, little need be said of the notes on individual plays, which are published in their proper form as marginalia. The passages to which each refers are, of course, supplied by the editor, and are indicated merely by references or by position on the page in the sets of Shakspere annotated by Coleridge. The longer notes, which seem incompatible with the narrowness of margins, are made possible by flyleaves and interleaving. Most, but not quite all, of the published notes are represented in the Morgan and Coleridge Shakspers in the British Museum. In one respect, these notes deserve more attention than the manuscript fragments of lectures, which they supplement. This is the textual revision, which in such notes was necessarily very extensive.

What has already been said about the patching indicates the nature of the material left behind by Coleridge. It consisted of notes never intended by Coleridge for publication in their *present form*, though ultimately designed to furnish the materials for such a purpose. Not only is the ordinary proofreader's revision necessary for small errata, but frequently the editor was obliged to correct sentence-structure, especially in the marginalia. And in these last

<sup>1</sup> Egerton 2800, p. 50 recto.

a certain amount of padding and commentary was introduced into the text, either to explain some extremely condensed phrase, or to supply material which stands before the eyes of the reader in the notes of Coleridge's Shakspere. H. N. Coleridge was a very ingenious and intelligent editor, and one can, in the main, be sure that the published text gives Coleridge's thought, and nearly his words. A modern scholar, however, would not be quite so free in revision as was Coleridge's nephew. In my opinion, there is a need for a more scrupulously edited text, on which I am working. Unless I can succeed in such a project, it will be very difficult to give an accurate idea of the textual differences between manuscript and published text. I shall, however, print such omissions as may have any interest, along with the other unpublished notes which I hope soon to publish.

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## DESIDERATA IN MIDDLE ENGLISH RESEARCH

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In a letter to Mr. Fields, James Russell Lowell complains as follows: "I have been wrestling with a bad head and an article on Chaucer, and I fear they have thrown me."<sup>1</sup> What especially troubled him in this difficulty is best explained by the well-known beginning of his essay on Chaucer, where he asks, "Will it do to say anything more about Chaucer? Can any one hope to say anything, not new, but even fresh, on a topic so well worn?" Such concern as this was apparently justified at that time. And yet, if one were to select the year in which, in general, articles and essays and monographs began most desperately to increase in number, it seems to me that the very year in which Lowell's essay was written would not be a bad choice. Think of the mass of material put into print since 1870! The impulse started with Professor Child's *Observations on the Language of Chaucer*, which was published in 1862, and with the publications of the Chaucer Society, which were first issued in 1868, and also with ten Brink's *Chaucer Studien*, which appeared in 1870. The situation is in many ways the same with the whole field of Middle English research. We may remind ourselves that in 1867 and 1869 Mätzner's *Altenglische Sprachproben* was published, and that the first number of *Englische Studien* came out in 1877. Yet, partly because of new discoveries and freshly revealed material, which bring with them new implications and methods, so much remains to be done even today that it is doubtful whether such excellent surveys as we find in Wells's *Manual* or the Cambridge *History* may be classed with perfectly reliable authorities!

In the first place, it is increasingly apparent how shaky our knowledge of certain problems in the study of the language is. Many of the dialect tests, which have been agreed upon with so much assurance in the past, have since been shown to be doubtful or misleading. Such was the fate of the test of -es in the third person singular, present indicative, of the verb, long regarded as an infallible

<sup>1</sup> M. A. DeW. Howe, *Memories of a Hostess* (Boston, 1922), p. 122, letter from Elmwood, July 17, 1870.

sign of Northern influence, until Professor Kittredge's study of the *Romaunt of the Rose* pointed out that it appeared in Midland.<sup>1</sup> Not everybody seems to be aware of this fact yet. Recently Professor Hulbert found it possible to make out a good case against the localization of the alliterative romances in West Midland.<sup>2</sup> He was answered only by Dr. Menner's thorough investigation of West Midland criteria, in material drawn from hitherto unused documents which could be definitely placed.<sup>3</sup> In the Modern Language Association a group was recently organized for the purpose of studying "the delimitation of Middle English dialects." It became clear in the discussion there that dialect tests must be subjected to a thorough revision. Fresh data must be collected, as Professor Wyld has recently studied the development of i-mutated *u* in Midland English.<sup>4</sup> The literature of known provenance should be classified as evidence; and the areas in which certain sounds were used should be precisely determined. Such a systematic approach to the subject is found only in a few studies, such as Brandl's *Zur Geographie der altenglischen Dialekte*<sup>5</sup> and Pogatscher's *Die englische æ/ē Grenze*.<sup>6</sup> We must be quite certain that material to be used as evidence for the study of any particular dialect really comes from the region where that dialect was spoken. For instance, Mr. Waterhouse in his edition of the *Non-Cycle Mystery Plays* discusses the Dublin play, and cites as "the known peculiarities of Dublin manuscripts of the period" "the confusion of *th* with *t* and *d*, of *w* with *u*, and the omission and erroneous insertion of the aspirate."<sup>7</sup> But a first-hand study of the documents will show that these peculiarities are not found uniquely in Dublin manuscripts, but that they appear with frequency in

<sup>1</sup> "The Authorship of the English *Romaunt of the Rose*," [Harvard] *Studies and Notes*, I (1892), 2 and n. 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Mod. Phil.*, XIX, 1 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XXXVII, 503 ff. Note especially 521 ff.

<sup>4</sup> "South-Eastern and South-East Midland Dialects in Middle English," *Essays and Studies by Members of the Eng. Assoc.*, VI (1920), 118 ff. Also cf. the same author's *Short History of English* (London, 1921), pp. 101 ff., and his special article, *Eng. Stud.*, XLVII, 1 ff. and 145 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Abhandlungen der königl. Preuss. Akad. der Wiss.*, Jahrgang 1915, Phil.-Hist. Kl., Nr. 4.

<sup>6</sup> *Anglia*, XXIII, 302 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *EETS. ES.*, CIV, p. xlvi. See also p. lxvii.

fifteenth-century East Midland.<sup>1</sup> Again, Professor Wyld classifies the letters of Margaret Paston as showing "on the whole" the Suffolk dialect,<sup>2</sup> although Dibelius and others take it as Norfolk,<sup>3</sup> and although Northern forms certainly appear in what she writes (e.g., *qh* for *wh* and *xal* for *shall*). There are also problems of method still to be solved. For instance, in collecting speech-forms, how far may we trust scribal spellings: that is, to what extent may we go beyond the evidence of rime?

The development of the language in Middle English requires, as a whole, in such ways as this a far more detailed investigation than it has so far received. Many of the old studies were good preliminary surveys; but they can hardly be regarded as final. Dr. Menner and the present writer have prepared a bibliography for the study of dialects.<sup>4</sup> Professor Kennedy of Leland Stanford is compiling a bibliography for the general field, which will probably show how much remains to be done in morphology and syntax. The studies of Ekwall, Kennedy, Von Glahn, Samuel Moore, and others, offer material of an importance which extends outside the English field, on such subjects, for example, as the substitution of natural for grammatical gender, and the use of the pronoun of address. Changes of this kind took place in the development of Middle English which make its study significant for linguistics in general. Professor Moore has demonstrated his method of deciding from a vast number of

<sup>1</sup> Here it will be enough to summon the witness of the following studies: Dibelius, "John Capgrave und die englische Schriftsprache," *Anglia*, XXIII, 360, 446 ff., 464 ff.; Neumann, *Die Orthographie der Paston Letters, von 1422-1461* (Marburg, 1904), pp. 67 ff., 91 ff. (93: *t>th* "Weist auf eine stark aspirierte Aussprache des *t* . . . . mag aber oft bei der mannigfachen Verwendung des *th* blosser Schreibfehler sein"); Süssbier, *Die Sprache der Cely-Papers* (Berlin, 1905), pp. 37, 62 ff., 65 ff.; Binzel, *Die Mundart von Suffolk in früh-neuengl. Zeit* (Darmstadt, 1912), pp. 59 ff. ("Eine Eigentümlichkeit der Dialekte des Südens und Ostens bildet der Lautwandel des *v>w*"), 71 ff.; Zachrisson, *The Pronunciation of English Vowels, 1400-1700* (Göteborg, 1913), pp. 45 ff., 78 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Modern Colloquial English* (New York, 1920), p. 64.

<sup>3</sup> Dibelius, *Anglia*, XXIII, pp. 160 ff.; Zachrisson, *op. cit.*, p. 45. For the forms with *qh* and for *xal* and *zulde*, see the letters of Margaret Paston in Gairdner's edition of the *Paston Letters* (Westminster, 1900-1901), I, pp. 48, 67, 81, 83, etc.; II, 32, 63, 64, 131, 203, etc. Dibelius objects to Blume's study of the letters: "Er betrachtet nämlich die zeitlich und örtlich so stark auseinandergehenden Stücke der Sammlung als ein einheitliches ganze, ohne auf die Verschiedenheit der Schreiber und auf die verschiedene Güte der Überlieferung rücksicht zu nehmen. Ich glaube daher die Paston Letters noch einmal methodisch untersuchen zu müssen," p. 162.

<sup>4</sup> [North Carolina] *Studies in Philology*, XX (October, 1923), 479 ff.

instances just how analogy works: from what ease it spreads, and in what geographical districts it first operated.<sup>1</sup> As a summary of the conclusions of others his book giving the "Historical Outlines of English Phonology"<sup>2</sup> represents a brief and first attempt at a work which is much needed—not in itself an original contribution, as the histories of Wyld, Luick, Horn, and others tend to be, but a synthesis of established results, like Kaluza's grammar, which, however, is out of date. This new history of the Middle English language will tell us, without prejudice of individual interpretation, the conclusions reached in hundreds of articles, like Zachrisson's "The Pronunciation of English Vowels 1400-1700,"<sup>3</sup> and Björkman's "Scandinavian Loan Words in Middle English."<sup>4</sup> Last of all, and perhaps most seriously, we need the Middle English dictionary which Professor Craigie promises to us. Professor Emerson has talked before our Middle English discussion group, at a meeting of the Modern Language Association, on some of the features which we hope to find in the completed dictionary, and a committee has been appointed to correspond with Professor Craigie in regard to some of these details.

Beside the work on language the old need of editing the texts is still with us. Miss Hope Allen has steadily expressed the opinion to her friends that before much more is done in the way of correlation we ought to have all the available texts in hand, and, in her field as in others, there is much left to receive attention. Only the more important documents have so far been adequately published, except, perhaps, in the case of some recent issues of the Early English Text Society. We have long waited for a proper edition of the *Ludus Coventriae*, which has only just appeared. Professor Knott says that controversy over the authorship of *Piers Plowman* can reach no satisfactory conclusion until for that poem we have a completely

<sup>1</sup> Presented in a paper before the Group on the "Delimitation of Middle English Dialects," at the meeting of the Modern Language Association in Baltimore, 1921, where he showed "by means of a statistical treatment of data derived from a representative body of material from eleventh- and twelfth-century MSS that, though the loss of final *nasals* in unstressed syllables was no doubt originally a phonetic phenomenon, the distribution of the forms with and without *n* in early M.E. must have been determined by analogy." See the *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XXXVII, No. 1. "Proceedings," p. xx.

<sup>2</sup> Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1919. Some details included in this book are not "established," but it serves, in general, to illustrate the point. See my review, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXV, 418 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Göteborg, 1913.

<sup>4</sup> Morsbach's *Studien*, VII, XI (Halle, 1900-1902).

representative and scholarly edition with which to work. Professor Emerson recently suggested that it was time for a new edition of the *Ormulum*; and one might add that publication with a convenient apparatus of introduction and notes is still to be desired for *Gawain and the Green Knight* and even Layamon's *Brut*. So much material on these poems has appeared in scattered notes that we need a compendium of the best of it. Still to be properly edited are such romances as the *Avowynge of King Arthur*, the *Weddynge of Sir Gawen*, *Kyng Alisaunder*, *Sir Amadas*, *Sir Degare*, and *Roberd of Cisyle*. Texts and notes for some of the romances are buried in the older files of periodicals like *Anglia* and *Englische Studien*, and will stay there, we may conjecture, until the publishing houses redevelop something of the altruistic spirit which characterized the earlier days of Ginn and Company. Nowadays, publishers, especially the old and reliable firms, offer contributions for the promotion of culture and scholarship only if they are likely to pay. It is a pity that we have no convenient editions of romances like *Athelston* and *The King of Tars*, which, after all, deserve proper attention as much as the *Squyr of Lowe Degre* and the *Seige of Troye*.

As for the investigation of special topics in the different fields there is, of course, plenty to do. The situation reminds one of the student in a composition course who asked whether all the available subjects for poems were not yet exhausted. In romance some of the folklore motifs, such as the fairy mistress, the imperious host, the three days' tournament, and the eaten heart still await full and systematic study; there are romances and tales in the *Gesta Romanorum* (as also in the *Decameron*) which have not been finally dealt with. Professor Gerould, I believe, is slowly bringing his study of the "Dance of Death" to completion. For the field of romance, with special attention to the French Arthurian Vulgate, the article by the late Professor Bruce tells of special needs still to be satisfied. After referring to the need of proper editing, and to that of fresh study of the manuscripts, he asks for some treatment of the Arthurian themes in the literature of later periods: "As all students of the subject are aware," he observes, "recent researches have revealed a far larger element of medievalism in the culture of the period which we call the Renaissance than was recognized by the generation

of Burekhardt and Symonds.<sup>1</sup> Professor Lawrence's recent articles on Shakspere show us how this kind of work ought to be done.<sup>2</sup> Professor Bruce asks, in particular, for an "allusion book"; and one may reflect that it would be interesting indeed to have a study of the traditions lying behind such a passage concerning Lancelot as that in Chaucer:

Who coude telle yow the forme of daunces,  
So uncouth and so freshe contenaunces,  
Swich subtil loking and dissimulinges  
For drede of Ialous mennes aperceyvinges ?  
No man but Launcelot, and he is deed [F. 283 ff.].

In the field of religious literature the circle of Richard Rolle has received due attention, and apparently there is more room for work. Some time ago Professor Gerould raised the question of the precise use of some of the extant saints' legends, when he showed how an inscription of the legend of St. Wulfrid and St. Ruffin hung in the church at Stone Priory in Staffordshire. The legend was actually painted upon a tablet on the epistle side of the Choir.<sup>3</sup> Liturgical influence in Middle English religious verse needs to be more fully studied. The relations between Middle English religious drama and the French plays need further treatment, if we may argue from the similarities of their development.<sup>4</sup>

Chaucerian problems seem to have increased in number. We may well be thankful for the studies concerning Chaucer's acquaintances and friends which have been published by Miss Rickert, Professor Tupper, and others, although their special pleading for certain interpretations remains doubtful. I myself believe that there is much more to be done on the poet's relations and intimacy with John of Gaunt; a new hint for this is found in Professor Kuhl's recent article on Bukton.<sup>5</sup> Professor Lowes finds the field of French sources so extensive that he has invited the systematic co-operation of other scholars. While we await with some degree of impatience

<sup>1</sup> *Mod. Phil.*, XX, 345.

<sup>2</sup> See *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XXXVII, 418 ff., especially 441 and n. 37.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, XXXII, 323 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf., e.g., *ibid.*, XXXV, 475.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, XXXVIII, 115 ff. Note Bukton's intimacy with the Earl of Derby, pp. 119 ff.

Professor Robinson's text in the Cambridge series, we may be allowed to yearn secretly for the preparation of a Chaucer Variorum, for which, Mr. Hinckley says, the time is ripe. Any study of Chaucerian manuscripts is likely to be rewarding. In dating *Trouthe* scholars have sometimes ignored the fact that the envoy with the dedication to Sir Philip La Vache appears in only one manuscript.<sup>1</sup> We are soon to have the Chaucer *Concordance*, as Professor Tatlock's letter tells us; but some day there must be a dictionary.

There is, however, another side of medieval literature which has hardly been touched—that of critical theory. It would be valuable to have the medieval theory of allegory, as we find it in Rabanus Maurus and Honorius of Autun and Durandus and Dante, applied to the great allegories critically. On the other hand, such material as turns up in the account of rhetoric in the treatises on the Seven Liberal Arts, and in casual allusions elsewhere, might contribute richly to a survey of literary criticism in the period. In general, it seems to me, our need is for more criticism and more synthetic scholarship. Some of this occasionally appears, but like Professor Koch's article on "Chaucer's Belesenheit in den römischen Klassikern,"<sup>2</sup> the inferences are often too few, and the critic's touch is not sufficiently light to "conveyen his matere." Would that we had more books like *Epic and Romance* by Professor W. P. Ker! In America we have a vast number of articles and monographs, but a poverty of books. In England, where the aristocratic view of

<sup>1</sup> Wells shows commendable caution on this point: *Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050-1400* (New Haven, 1916), p. 647. It seems unnecessary to take "beste" (l. 18) as a "definite anticipation of 'Vache' of the Envoy": the same expression is used in the *Troilus*, iii, l. 620; *Fortune*, 68; cf. A 1309. But cf. *Mod. Phil.*, XI, 224 and 226.

An interesting detail in the manuscripts of the *Legend of Good Women* is found in some changes in the version of the "Balade" in the *Prologue*. Some of the MSS have the reading for B 261: "And thou Tisbe that hast for loue suche peyne." Since this agrees with the line as it appears in A, it must represent the version from which A was taken. See Professor Amy's stemma, where C, A, S, represent the MSS which have the above reading: *The Text of Chaucer's Legend of Good Women* (Princeton, 1918, p. 49). Since this reading is in the original, Chaucer's change of "trouthe of love" to "trouthe in love" in the preceding line was not effected to avoid a repetition of the phrase "of love." The fact, then, that he added "in love" to A 221 ("Mak of youre trouthe in loue no bost ne soun" from "Make of your trouthe neyther bost ne soun") shows that he wanted to emphasize the theme of "trouthe in love" in the Balade. On the other hand, if anyone tries to derive the reading of B from A, it will be hard to explain why Chaucer changed both instances of the phrase. As we find it in A, it occurs in the third line from the end of both stanzas (two and three).

<sup>2</sup> *Eng. Stud.*, LVII, 8 ff.

letters still prevails, I am told that they have a superstition against monographs and articles, just as they have against footnotes. Perpend!

It is the plan of the Chaucer group at the meeting of the Modern Language Association this year, instead of having short papers on scattered topics, to have two papers on the general subject of "Chaucer and Medieval Romance." As the chairman writes, "Our purpose is to define the extent to which Chaucer accepts and incorporates in his poetry this element of the literary tradition of his time." This, then, is one attempt, at least, to achieve a kind of synthesis. We need, in fact, short surveys of the host of articles which appear in the various fields, so that he who runs may read the latest about the origin of the Grail, the ballad theory, or Professor Foerster's struggle over Celtic origins. Writes one scholar mournfully, "There is no survey of the 'scholarship' of the Brendan legend." No!—nor of that of many other subjects, we may add, and, although we have the English Association's review of English studies, as well as the list in our own *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, none of these quite satisfies the need, either because of not being sufficiently inclusive, or not specific enough.

So there is enough left to do in Middle English. Sometimes, in discussing fields thus far unexplored or unworked, I have wandered into foreign literatures, but only because these in some way touch our main interest. In such a broad outline I have not been able to go into much detail. One of the faults of what I have said is probably that so much of it is obvious; and yet, considering my subject, I claim that as a token of success. The needs of the field are obvious. We cannot go much farther unless we have reliable editions and scholarly apparatus. In listing "desiderata" of this kind, I hope that what I have said leaves much to be desired!<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Presented at the Conference of British and American Professors of English, Columbia University, New York City, June 15, 1923.

## DECAMERON, VIII, 2: EARLIEST FRENCH IMITATIONS

Tales 1 and 2 of Day VIII of the *Decameron* of Boccaccio are so similar in main idea and in detail that they are usually treated as one by the commentators who are concerned with their sources and influence. A glance at lists of analogues of the *Decameron* tales will indicate that the theme of these two stories became one of the most popular and most frequently utilized of novelistic subjects in Western Europe. Their titles will recall sufficiently their content.

"Giornata ottava, novella prima." *Gulfardo prende da Guasparruolo denari in prestanza, e con la moglie di lui accordato di dover giacer con lei per quegli, si gliegle dà, e presente di lei a Guasparruolo dice che a lei gli diede, et ella dice che è il vero.*

"Giornata ottava, novella seconda." *Il prete da Varlungo si giace con monna Belcolore; lasciale pegno un suo tabarro; e accattato da lei un mortajo, il rimanda, e fa domandare il tabarro lasciato per ricordanza; rendelo proverbiando la buona donna.*

There is one detail of difference between the two stories which leads us to attach the two tales which we publish herewith more particularly to the tradition of Day VIII, Tale 2. In both tales the presence of the husband at the end forces the wife to forfeit the reward of her infidelity, but in Tale 1 he himself lends to the lover the money to be handed over to the wife who finally has to admit that the sum borrowed has been returned to her in his absence. This rôle of the husband is lacking in our two stories as in Day VIII, Tale 2.

Tale XVIII of the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, the fifteenth-century collection that has been attributed to Antoine de la Salle, deals with a theme which has certain points of general resemblance to Tales 1 and 2 of Day VIII but there are no close points of approach and Küchler<sup>1</sup> cannot conclude that the author of the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* had in mind either of the *Decameron* tales.

<sup>1</sup> Walther Küchler, "Die *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der französischen Novelle," *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur*, XXX (1906), 276-78.

The earliest French use of *Decameron*, VIII, 2 seems to us to be found in the seventy-first tale of the collection of one hundred tales by Philippe de Vigneulles, a hosier of Metz, which was composed between the years 1505-15 as he himself tells us.<sup>1</sup> This *recueil*, which furnishes us with an interesting date in French literary history, is unedited but not unknown to specialists in the literature of the French Renaissance.<sup>2</sup> It does not seem unlikely that Philippe knew the *Decameron* at first hand. In his *Memoires*<sup>3</sup> he tells us of his sojourn of four years in Italy and informs us that he brought back Italian books to Metz. He expressly mentions Boccaccio in the Preface and at several points in his tales. It is not necessary to dwell here upon the popularity of the *Decameron* in France since the earliest translation in 1414 by Laurent de Premierfait which ran through numerous editions after the first of Verard in 1485 until it was supplanted by the more accurate and elegant translation of Antoine Le Maçon in 1545. Its general importance for the French novel and tale of the Renaissance is well enough known.

Philippe's tales are crude in their expression and even more licentious than their avowed model, the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*. He wrote them for his own amusement without literary preoccupation and his language has a strong dialectal flavor, that of his adopted city Metz, the local color of which is reflected in the majority of his tales. In appropriating time-worn novelistic themes, Philippe does usually try to introduce something new in the way of detail or dénouement generally without succeeding in improving upon his sources. The *conte* of which we here give the text from the unique manuscript of the tales in our possession is far inferior in every manner to the tale of the *Decameron* where as M. Reynier says: "Ce n'est pas l'aventure qui importe, mais tous ces détails qui précisent la narration et qui la colorent, qui constituent le milieu,

<sup>1</sup> H. Michelant, *Gedenkbuch des Metzer Bürgers Philippe von Vigneulles*, Stuttgart, 1852 (Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins, XXIV, 283).

<sup>2</sup> V. Arthur Tilley, *Literature of the French Renaissance* (2 vols., Cambridge University Press, 1904), I, 100, note 2; H. Morf, *Geschichte der französischen Literatur im Zeitalter der Renaissance*, Strassburg, 1914, p. 28; C. Voretzsch, *Einführung in das Studium der altfranzösischen Litteratur*, Halle, 1913, p. 499; Gaston Paris, *Esquisse Historique de la Littérature Française au Moyen Age*, Paris, 1907, pp. 251-52; *Mélanges de Littérature du Moyen Age*, II, 628, 637; *Journal des Savants*, 1895, pp. 289, 342; Karl Vossler, *Zu den Anfängen der französischen Novelle*, in *Studien zur vergleichenden Litteraturgeschichte*, zweiter Band, Berlin, 1902.

<sup>3</sup> *Gedenkbuch*, ed. cit., p. 32.

qui sont bien en rapport avec la condition des personnages."<sup>1</sup> The picture which Philippe gives us of the *fileuse* or *cardeuse de laine* was evidently suggested by Monna Belcolore of the *Decameron* story. It is not necessary to call attention to the simplicity of motivation of Philippe's story and its inferiority in that respect to that of the conte of the *Decameron*.

LA LXXI<sup>0</sup> NOUVELLE PAROLLE ET FAICT MENCION D'UN FIN MAQUIER<sup>2</sup>  
QUI TROMPIT UNE FEMME EN LA MANIÈRE QUE ORRES

En ung village auprès de Mets lequel je ne vueli point nommer, advint n'a pas encor loing temps qu'il se trouva ung maquiez qui vandoit pelles, potz et chauldrons et les rescroioit par la ville comme ilz ont de coustume de faire, et entre ses aultres baigues il vandoit des seriz<sup>3</sup> pour serizer et habillier la chanve ou le ling: c'est ung instrument où il y a pluseurs dentz de fer.

Ores y avoit-il à celuy villaige une moult belle jeune femme nouvellement mariée laquelle oyant le cris du maquies, sortist hors de la maison pour veoir que c'estoit qu'il vendoit et veit qu'il avoit des sereys, et en eust moult voulentiers acheté ung mais elle n'avoit point asses d'argent. Touttesfois elle l'appella pour luy demander combien qu'il les faisoit. "Je les faiz, dit-il, x sous la pièce.—Par ma fois, dit la jeune femme, j'en eusse voulentier eu ung mais je suis trop mal fournie d'argent pour le present." Cestuit maquiez lequel fin homme estoit, regarde de travers celle belle jeune femme qui estoit belle, jeune, refaict et en bon point pour le bas mestier et n'estoit point des plus fines ne des plus debatues de ce monde. Si fut incontinent esprins en son amour et luy dit: "Ma doule amye, ne vous chaille d'argent car si j'ay rien qui vous soit bon, tout est en vostre commandement.—Grant mercy, dit-elle, mon amy.—Il n'y a point de mercy, ce dit nostre homme, car je suis celuy qui vous vouldroie faire service et plaisir en toutes les sortes et manières que je pourrois ou sqaurois sans y rien espargnier."

Et en disant cecy et plusieurs aultres telles parolles et doux langaiges, il se asseust decoste elle, et en approchant commence à deviser de pluseurs choses et luy declaira son piteux eas de plus fort en plus fort tellement que celle qui estoit tendre aux esperons, fuit tantost abatue par force de ces doulees parolles et ne le sceust onques reffuzer qu' elle debvoit avoir ung sery pour serizer son ling sans en riens payer. Et tantost que nostre homme

<sup>1</sup> *Les Origines du Roman Réaliste*, Paris, 1912, pp. 127 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Maquier* evidently has the meaning here of peddler of odds and ends. Cf. Modern Wallon, *make* (*tête d'épingle ou d'un autre petit objet*) probably OF *macque*. Modern French *masset* has a different sense. We have not found the word attested in Godefroy, LaCurne, or in modern dialect dictionaries.

<sup>3</sup> *seris, seriser*. These words are attested for the modern dialect of the Belgian province of Namur, cf. Ch. Grandgagnage, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la Langue Wallonne*, II (Liège, 1850), 356. Philippe conveniently adds here a definition.

veit qu'elle estoit contente, si serra l'huis et la gecta sur ung lict et monta dessus pour veoir de plus loing<sup>1</sup> et besoingna tellement qu'elle s'en tint bien contente.

Cela fait, print congé d'elle, la balsa et s'en alla par les aultres villages. Mais il ne fut pas si tost hors du villaige qu'il ne pensa à ce qu'il avoit fait et se repentoit desir fort pensant en luy-mesme que mieulx luy vaulsist avoir esté endormis que d'avoir faict ung tel oultrage, et plandoit merveilleusement son sery qu'il avoit ainsi perdis meschamment sans en avoir aucun proffit. "Or, à la malle heure, disoit-il, me suis esbatus decoste celle femme; je ne gaingneres tant de sepmaine comme elle ait du mien. Mieux me vaulsist avoir esté et allés en la taverne despendre mon argent que d'avoir ainsi donné la vallue de ix ou x sous pour ung si peu de plaisir." Puis, soudain se ravisa et dit: "Or, par le corps bieu, si je puis, je le raures par quelque voie ou manière que ce soit ou elle l'acompara."

Demeura la chose en cest estat une espace de temps, lequel pendant nostre maiquier avoit tousiours ung mal jour toutes et quantesfois qu'il luy souvenoit de son serey, et advint ung jour ainsi qu'il y pensoit, qu'il se advisa et au vray d'une grande mallice comme vous orres. Il trousse incontinent ces bagues et retourne errier au villaige où demeuroit celle jeune femme et espia tant qu'il veit son mary estre à l'ostel. Et incontinent qu'il sceust au vray qu'il y estoit, il s'en alla hurther à l'huiix et tantost vint nostre bourgeoise veoir qui c'estoit et demander: "Qui est la?—Se suis-je," dit-il. Puis en criant si hault qu'il peust, ait dit: "Et comment me voules-vous point donner l'argent de mon sery; ou me donnez, fait-il, l'argent de mon sery ou me le randes à moi."

Et brayoit si hault que le mary l'ouyt bien lequel vint avant et dit et demanda à sa femme c'elle debvoit quelque chose à celuy maiquiez. La pouvre femme estoit si esperdue qu'elle ne sçavoit que respondre. Touttesfois respondit à basse voix en disant: ouy et qu'elle avoit acheté ung sery mais elle n'avoit point eu d'argent pour le payer. "Vous l'avez acheté, dit son marit. Ores luy redonnes. Que de sanglante putte estrance<sup>2</sup> soit vostre corps reliez! Debvez-vous acheter se vous ne voulez paier?" La pouvre femme toute honteuse n'osa dire du contraire et redonna, bien ennuée, le serry audit maiquier lequel le print et s'en retorna bien joyeux. Mais je dis, moy, que c'estoit grant honte à luy de l'avoir ainsi trompée.

The same theme is to be found in verse in chapter xxxi of the *Legende de Maistre Pierre Faifeu* (1526):<sup>3</sup> *Comment derechef fut*

<sup>1</sup> Expression frequently used in the tales of the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, Philippe's avowed model.

<sup>2</sup> *estrance*. The word is not found in Godefroy or *La Curne* but probably here has the meaning of *estrainte*—"tourment, détresse, malheur," the suffix of the etymon being *-ie* instead of the feminine ending.

<sup>3</sup> Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire*, dates the first edition 1526. Reynier, *ed. cit.*, gives the date as 1531–32. The chapter is xxxi not xxvi as cited by A. C. Lee, *Sources and Analogues of the Decameron*, London 1909, p. 248.

*amoureux de quelque dame; a qui, pour ce faire, donna trois aulnes de escarlate.* Faifeu obtains the lady's favors by means of a present of three *aulnes* of cloth which he has gotten from a mercer by leaving a pledge with him. He later persuades the lady that the cloth should be exposed to the air and dew of the night to make its color fast and when she puts it outside following his advice, he makes off with it and returns it to the mercer who restores his pledge. The little story is interesting because we have here a piece of cloth entering the tale, a detail which appears in later imitations. Lee<sup>1</sup> first notes it in a story of Giraldo Giraldi (1477-79) which closely resembles the story of Pierre Faifeu but which could have hardly been its direct source, for the several tales of Giraldi were first printed only in 1796.

This detail of the cloth appears in what is clearly an imitation of *Decameron*, VIII, 2: the 148th tale of the vast manuscript collection of Nicolas de Troyes, a saddler of Champagne, which was completed in 1536 and of which only the second volume is preserved (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, *fonds français*, 1510).<sup>2</sup> Nicolas tells us himself that he is not the inventor of his stories. Those which he has not, as he says, "retirées des livres" he has heard told by "plusieurs bons compagnons" or he himself has witnessed the actual fact. Fifty-five of his stories are taken, with only one exception, almost textually from the *Decameron* or rather from the altered and inaccurate Verard editions of the early French translation of Laurent de Premierfait, as Professor Hauvette has shown.<sup>3</sup> The exception to which we allude is a free imitation of Day VIII, Tale 2, (No. 148) which we have recently had occasion to read in the original MS in Paris, and which we believe merits inclusion among the tales of Nicolas which are considered to represent his personal contribution to tale literature.

<sup>1</sup> Lee, *op. cit.*, p. 248 f.

<sup>2</sup> Portions of Nicolas' work as *conteur* have twice been edited by Emile Mabille: 1866 (Bruxelles et Paris, *Collection Gay*) and 1869 (Paris, *Bibliot. Elévirienne*). The commentators, G. Paris, P. Toldo, and G. Reynier, take no account of the edition of 1866 although the choice of tales is somewhat different. The edition of 1869 contains fifty-five tales, that of 1866 contains fifty-one of which seventeen are not found in the former. The tale of Nicolas which we publish herewith is then the seventy-third of the entire collection to be edited. Tales 53 and 54 of the 1869 edition and 15 and 27 of the 1866 edition are not found in the Paris MS but were chosen by the editor from sixteenth-century MSS, the whereabouts of which are at present unknown.

<sup>3</sup> H. Hauvette, *De Laurentio Primoacto*, Paris, 1903.

The *conte* of which the text follows, prolix and clumsy as it is in comparison with the elegance of the Italian model, nevertheless offers us an interesting picture of the *mœurs* of the time and for that reason justifies its publication, we believe.

LA 148<sup>e</sup> NOUVELLE DE PAR MAISTRE GUILLAUME DE LA BOUGE<sup>1</sup>  
EST D'UN GENTILHOMME QUI DONNA POUR CINQUANTE ESCUS  
DE VELOURS À UNE BARBIÈRE POUR FAIRE SON PLAISIR D'ELLE  
ET COMME SON SERVITEUR TROUVA FAÇON DE LE RAVOIR.

Naguères en nostre cité de Florence demoroit ung gentil homme nommé Ollivier Maillart lequel estoit homme de grant et noble lignage et demoroit auprès de l'esglise Saint Jehan. Advint que cestuy noble homme alla cheux ung barbier pour faire sa barbe ainsi comme gens ont de coustume aux festes, pour estre plus honnestement et plaisant aux gens de bien avecques qui il conversoit. Or advint que cestuy barbier avoit une moulx belle femme espousée laquelle faisoit la barbe à cestuy gentil homme, qui avoit les mains si doules et si souples pour le mestier pour bien pigner et mouiller que merveilles. Ceste femme icy estoit plus dyuyete à faire la barbe que le meilleur barbier de Florence. Lors voyant cestuy gentil homme que ceste femme estoit si propre et lui faisoit se barbe si doucement, commença à estre embrasé du feu d'amours envers elle tant que nuyt et iour il ne dormoit; si pensa comme il pourroit parvenir à son amour. Et de fait depuis la première foys qu'elle luy eut fait sa barbe cestuy chevalier ne passoit point ung iour sans aller veoir ceste barbière en luy monstrant plusieurs signes d'amour ainsi comme font ieunes gens qui sont amoureux d'aucunes jeunes femmes.

Cestuy Ollivier de plus en plus fut embrasé d'amours envers ceste femme car tant plus alloit en avent et tant plus l'amour croissoit à l'occasion de ce qu'il venoit chascun iour la veoir en la maison, parquoy il ne se peut plus tenir de luy dire la douleur qu'il soufroit pour elle. Et ainsi comme il estoit venu une foys entre les autres, la trouva seulle porce que son mari estoit allé sur les champs pour soy esbatre à prendre des oyseaux ainsi comme ont de coustume les barbiers qui aux simples iours n'ont guères à besongner, et pour ce mettent leur(s) estudie à aller prendre leurs deduys aux champs. Lors quant celluy Olivier se sentit tout seul avec elle, luy commença à dire la douleur de sa maladie en luy disant: "Dame, s'il vous plaisoit de moy escouster, ie seroye grandement tenu envers vous." Adoncques respondeoit la dame qu'elle l'escoutroit voulentiers en bien et en honneur. Puis dist Ollivier: "Certes, dame, il fault que mon cuer se declare à vous car il ne peut plus porter la douleur ne la misère de sa maladie; pour laquelle chose ie vous

<sup>1</sup> We have no information as to this *devisant*. Some of the persons who tell the stories are real, for example, *l'écuyer* Boucart of the court of Blois. This has led to the supposition that all represent real personages. Unfortunately the first volume of the manuscript has been lost. It may have contained information about the interlocutors.

prie tant comme je puis qui vous plaise vous consentir et me acorder la chose que ie vous vueil demander, c'est assavoir que se ie n'ay aucun plaisir d'amours avecques vous, ie cuyde que bref ie morray car j'ay enduré pour vous plus que jamais homme crestien n'endura pour personne. Doncques ie vous prie que vous me veuilles donner vostre amour et ie me soubmetz à vostre voulenté pour faire ce qu'il vous plaira de moy commender en vous gardent vostre honneur et vostre renommée."

La femme oyant ces parolles fut fort troublée et esbayée car elle avoit esté nouvellement mariée et ne savoit encore que c'estoit que d'amour, par [quoy] elle se excusa honnestement et luy dist: "Ollivier, je vous ayme autent que personne du monde à vous faire plaisir et service en toutes choses licites et honnestes mais en celle que vous me demandes, je ne m'y congois point, ni aussi jamais ne my consentiroye; car i'ay mon mary aussi honneste que vous qui ne seroit pas content se ie me abandonnoye à telle chose faire."

Lors Ollivier fut dolent et marry en cuer de la responce de celle femme, et sans plus mot dire se partit et s'en alla par desplaisance bientost après à plus de cinquante lieues de Florence pour passer son dueil et sa merencolie. Et il fut l'espace de deux ou trois ans et au bout de trois ans s'en revint à Florence. Et pource que il y avoit longtemps qu'il n'avoit veu sa femme ne ses enfens ne ses parens et amys, avoit acheté environ de catre à cinq aulnes de velours ou plus largement pour faire une robe à sa femme pour sa bien-venue affin qui fust mieux receu et qu'elle luy fist bonne chère.

Et en passant parmy la ville de Florence luy souvint encores de celle belle barbière et s'en vint, son veloux soubz son esselle, pour faire sa barbe sus elle, et quant il la vit, il fut plus ravy d'amours qui n'avoit onques en sa vie esté pour sa beaulté. Si la sallua et balsa moulx doulement, puis luy dist qui voulloit qu'elle luy fist sa barbe, laquelle incontinent print ung rasoir et la luy fist. Et en la faisant luy compta comme par elle il s'en estoit allé de la ville de Florence et que ce c'estoit son plaisir de faire sa voulenté, qui l'aymoit mieux que jamais n'avoit fait. Laquelle luy respondit qu'elle n'en feroit riens. Et lors luy commença à promettre plusieurs dons comme or et argent, robes, ioyaux et plusieurs autres choses laquelle tout refusa, et après plusieurs parolles luy dist: "Dame, voicy pour cinquantes escus d'or de velours que ie vous donne et me faites le plaisir que ie vous demande." Lors la barbière envieuse et convoyteuse d'avoir celle belle pièce de veloux, incontinent sans plus playder, s'y accorda, "mais, dit-elle, ie vous requier que la chose vous tenez secrète car ainsi comme vous sçaves, ie suis de noble lignage et sy ay mon mary qui est honneste homme parquoy s'il estoit sceu, je seroye villenée et deshonorée à tousiours mais." Adonc Olivier luy octroya que jamais n'en ouvreroit la bouche pour en parler; puis luy bailla son veloux et luy dist: "Tenes, faictes-en ce qui vous plaira." Adoncques le print et le mist dedens son coffre et après le fit monter dedens sa chambre et eux deux ensemble prindrent du deduyt et plaisirne tant

qu'il voulurent jusques à heure competente, qui sceut que son mary devoit revenir.

Et quant il fut temps de partir, Olivier print congé d'elle; puis s'en alla et en s'en allant commença à penser que il avoit perdu son veloux. Donc luy en faisoit grant mal et maudisoit l'heure que onques luy avoit baillé, pour laquelle cause il s'en vint tout courrusé à son logis. Et quant vint à soupper, le paige regarda son maistre et veit qu'il faisoit mauvaise chère et souppiroit très fort. Sy commença à demander à son maistre qu'il avoit et s'il estoit malade. Lors le maistre luy respondit qu'il n'avoit riens et ne luy vouloit point dire car il avoit paour que il ne l'acusast envers sa femme. Le paige voyant de rechef que son maistre ne povoit ne boire ne menger et gettoit encors plusieurs soupirs à l'occasion qu'il avoit perdu cestuy veloux, ne se peut tenir de l'interroguer en luy disant: "Maistre, dictes-moy, s'il vous plaist, quel ennuyt vous avez et sy ie puis, je y mettray remède."

Adoncques Ollivier voyant son paige qui fort l'interrogouit, ne se peut tenir qui ne luy comptast sa male fortune et luy dist toute la manière comment il avoit baillé son veloux à ceste barbière. Adonc le paige oyant ainsi compter son eas, commença à rire, puis dist à son maistre: "Sy vous me voulez donner une bonne robbe, ie vous iray querir vostre veloux, et auquel eas que ie ne le vous aporte, je vueil avoir les deux oreilles coppées." Et son maistre luy respondit ainssi: "Se tu me veulx promettre de le me apporter, ie te promet que tu aras une bonne robbe."

Adone le paige demanda à son maistre ung grant blant et son maistre luy bailla et quant il eut, il s'en alla en la maison du barbier où son maistre avoit fait sa barbe, et quant il vint à l'huys du dit barbier hurta fermement. Lors le barbier oyant hurter à son huys demanda qui c'estoit et le paige respondit que c'estoit le paige de Olivier Maillart; et quant le barbier veit la paige qui congoissoit bien, le dit barbier fut tout esbay car il y avoit longtemps que il n'en avoit ouy parler. Sy luy fist ouvrir l'huys et le fist monter en sa chambre où il estoit, et puis luy demanda qu'il vouloit et le paige luy dist: "Mon maistre se recommande bien à vous et vous prie, si vous plaist, que vous luy envoyez son veloux qu'il avoit laissé pour gaige de sa barbe à l'occasion qu'il n'avoit point de monnoye, et veez là ung grant blans qu'il vous envoie.—Quoy, ce dist le barbier à sa femme, avez-vous retenu son veloux pour gaige de sa barbe? Que de fièvre quartaine soyez-vous espousée?" Et commença fort et ferme à tencer sa femme et puis luy dist qu'elle luy baillast. Lors la femme dist a son mary: "Je ne l'avoye point print pour gaige mais il m'avoit prié que je luy gardasse."

Adoneques la femme bailla le veloux au paige, lequel le print et s'en retorna fort ioyeux vers son maistre lequel luy donna une bonne robbe et aussi l'avoit-il bien gaingné. Puis compta à son maistre la manière comme il avoit eu et comme le barbier avoit tencé sa femme. Donc Olivier se print à rire et après se mocqua d'elle et compta la finesse à chascun.

There can be no doubt that both Philippe and Nicolas had the *Decameron* tale directly in mind while composing these *nouvelles*. A very striking point of resemblance lies in the closing scene of these three stories where the wife, before the anger and imprecations<sup>1</sup> of the husband, not only makes no effort to deny the allegations of her lover, but shows the utmost readiness to sacrifice the reward of her infidelity and to settle the affair as quickly as possible. The French tale-tellers have not seen fit to take over the satire of Boccaccio directed against the priest. Philippe's substitution of the *maquier* with the touch of local color thus introduced is a happier one than that of the *gentilhomme* in Nicolas' tale which is unusually prolix and divagating.<sup>2</sup> We have in these two *contes* another case among so many where the imitators of Boccaccio serve but to emphasize in bold relief the peerless and inimitable art and skill of the master.

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<sup>1</sup> In the *Decameron* story, Bentivegna, the husband says: "Dunque toi tu ricordanza al sere? fo boto a Cristo, che mi vien voglia di darti un gran sergozzone: va, rendigiel tosto, che canciola te nasca." For the husbands' oaths in the tales of Philippe and Nicolas cf. above, pages 37 f. and 40 f.

<sup>2</sup> For instance, the entire episode of Ollivier at dinner and his page's sympathy is unnecessary and detracts from the interest in the dénouement.



## UNPUBLISHED POEMS BY GRESSET

Since Gresset, in his last devotional years, repented his plays as well as the good-natured jests of his roguish parrot, *Vair-Vert*, and burned his manuscripts to spite the Spirit of Evil, several attempts have been made to recover part of his destroyed poems and letters. Their loss was, at the time, keenly regretted,<sup>1</sup> all the more so since he himself had given no edition of his works. The lasting popularity of *Vair-Vert* and of the *Méchant* incited several members of his family to ransack their archives to unearth some of his productions which escaped his inquisitorial auto-da-fé. Moreover, publishers as well as devotees of Gresset were interested in their rediscovery, since, before the advent of the Romantic School, the publication of his posthumous works was sure to be a remunerative undertaking. Renouard, who printed for the first time the *Parrain Magnifique*, owed to it much of his reputation as a publisher.

Without going into the detail of the complicated history of the successive additions to Gresset's text,<sup>2</sup> it may here be recalled that the most complete edition was published by Renouard in 1810. It contained a great deal of unpublished verse, which he had received from Gresset's family. In 1844, M. de Cayrol, in his *Essai historique sur la vie et les ouvrages de Gresset*, brought to light a number of unknown letters, poems, and fragments and, in 1863, M. de Beauvillé assembled other unprinted manuscripts of Gresset, most of which had belonged to the Jesuits. He published the greater part of his discoveries in his *Poésies inédites de Gresset*. Even as the preceding editors, he was so much concerned with the "reputation" of the poet that he deprived us of some valuable data about the development of his talent. It is to be regretted, for instance, that he did not print

<sup>1</sup> From 1779 to 1790 there appeared four *Eloges* and a biography of Gresset.

<sup>2</sup> See on this: Cayrol, *Essai historique sur la vie et les ouvrages de Gresset*, 1884. V. de Beauvillé, *Poésies inédites de Gresset, précédées de recherches sur ses manuscrits*, 1863. Wogue, *Gresset*, 1894, p. 324. K. Herrenschwand, *J. B. L. Gresset*, 1895, p. 102: *Von den Manuskripten Gresset's*.

the first draft of the *Vair-Vert* and the early comedy *Les Esprits follets* (1734) which were in his possession.<sup>1</sup>

The gathering of Gresset's text has, then, been slow and laborious, and even now, after the successive additions by Renouard, Cayrol, and De Beauvillé, much of it seems lost or is very fragmentary and incomplete. I intend here to make a few new additions to his works with the intention of revealing another part of his burned manuscripts and of shedding some light especially on his later years, when, tired of the literary life, he wrote only for his intimates.

There exist in several libraries manuscript copies of poems by Gresset. Among them the MS F.F. 12504 of the Bibliothèque Nationale is especially worthy of attention, since it once belonged to Renouard and contains a few unpublished poems. Its contents can be classified as follows:

A. Material relating to Gresset: A *Mémoire* about Suard's election to the French Academy; a letter from Alex. Gresset to Renouard, etc.

B. Poems or fragments already published: *Le Gazetin*, *Epître à M. de Boulongne*—Préface of the *Parrain Magnifique*—*Epître à M. Herault de Séchelles*. (The same as the one addressed to M. de Boulongne), etc.

C. Poems attributed to Gresset: *Epître d'un Jésuite de Rouen à un de ses amis*, with an epigraph: "L'opprobre avilit l'âme et flétrit le courage," a line from Voltaire's *Mérope* (Act II, sc. ii, v. 510). M. Wogue<sup>2</sup> believes that this poem is an early work of Gresset, written probably in 1734 when he was a Jesuit at Rouen. At the end of that year he had some difficulties with his order, occasioned by the publication of *Vair-Vert*, and, since the *Epître* is a complaint about some animosity which had a deleterious influence upon the

<sup>1</sup> Other publications of work by Gresset are: *Almanach des Muses* of 1797 and 1798, incomplete versions of the *Chartreux* and of the *Requête au Roi*. *Isographie des Grands Hommes*, 1827, containing an incomplete version of the *Lettre à Madame de Sémonville*. *Revue Rétrospective*, 1833, five unpublished poems. Cf. also, *Intermédiaire des Chercheurs et des Curieux*, I, cols. 27-28, about Gresset's correspondence with Frederic II. A useful list of all the known works of Gresset is given by K. Herrenschwand, *Gresset*, pp. 199-204. It must be noticed, however, that some of the poems which he has not seen have appeared in print.

<sup>2</sup> *Gresset*, p. 276, n. 1.

author's talent, M. Wogue finds in it an echo of Gresset's state of mind after the publication of his best-known poem:

Soud le poids de l'ignominie  
J'ai senti dessécher et périr mon génie,  
Tel aux approches de l'hiver  
On voit un arbrisseau fragile,  
Glacé par les frimas, en proie à la langueur,  
Se flétrir dans un champ fertile  
Et des fiers aquilons accuser la rigueur. ...

Such a conclusion would seem justified if the poem dated really from 1734, but against this date militates the epigraph taken from Voltaire's *Mérope*: "L'opprobre avilit l'âme et flétrit le courage." This play was acted for the first time in 1743 and appeared in print the following year. Hence the *Epître d'un Jésuite de Rouen* cannot be anterior to 1744. And, if so, the words "d'un Jésuite de Rouen" cannot refer to Gresset who left Rouen in 1734 and the Jesuit order in 1735.<sup>1</sup>

Can it be supposed that Gresset, after 1744, added the epigraph to a poem written ten years earlier? Even if he had done so, there is no reason to assume that he would have selected a quotation from Voltaire, for, in 1744, his former estrangement from him had long since become open enmity. The affair of the lost letter to Frederic II, which, according to Gresset, Voltaire had intercepted with the help of Thieriot, dates from 1741.<sup>2</sup>

The *Epître d'un Jésuite de Rouen* is then not Gresset's, but rather what it claims to be: A poem by an unknown Jesuit of Rouen, written after 1744, and sent to his friend, Gresset, among whose papers it was found. Its style, moreover, bears no resemblance to Gresset's manner.

<sup>1</sup> It may be of some importance in this connection to determine, as nearly as possible, the exact date on which Gresset left Rouen to return to Paris, to the Collège Louis-le-Grand. Cayrol (*op. cit.*, I, 59) and Herrenschwand (*op. cit.*, p. 20) err about the dates of his early peregrinations, which have been rectified by Wogue (*op. cit.*, p. 12). The year of his arrival at Paris is set down as 1734. A still more precise date would be October, 1734. A letter, dated November 18, 1734, from Gresset to his mother, written from Paris, makes it clear that he had arrived there some time before. He says: "Je ne crois pas avoir passé dix jours sans écrire. ... Le gros Marquet est toujours mon fidèle. ... Il me mena dernièrement dîner à Saint Cloud." This text shows what he must have written about Marquet at least ten days previously to November 18, 1734. The school year began in October, and it is more than likely that he arrived at the college about that time.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Lenel, *Voltaire et Gresset*, 1889; Wogue, *op. cit.*, pp. 126 f.

The MS *F.F. 12504* contains at least one more poem which is not by Gresset: *Les Chancelliers, Ode*. M. Wogue has pointed out that it has been printed in the *Fastes de Louis XIV, de ses ministres, maîtresses, généraux et autres personnages*, 1782, and that the author, Guyot des Herbiers, is known. A third poem, an *Epître d'Uranie*, seems to M. Wogue of doubtful authenticity. If it is by Gresset—what seems unlikely enough since it is not in his vein—it must be one of his earliest poems. A prose letter at the end of the *Epître* makes it clear that the author was poet only by accident: "Encore des vers, Madame, vous ne l'eussiez pas cru, ny moy non plus, quelque cas que vous ayez paru faire de mon premier essay. Je vous avoueray que rien ne m'a plus surpris que la charmante pièce de Mr. votre fils; il est devenu tout d'un coup mon Apollon et si je vous écorche encore aujourd'huy les oreilles, prenez vous en à luy, car je ne comptois de ma vie vous envoyer que de la prose telle que je la scay faire." Could Gresset ever have written this?

By these eliminations the unpublished poems in MS *12504*, which are of Gresset's hand, are reduced to four:

1. *Lettre de Gresset à M. de la Jonchère en luy envoyant un pâtre.*  
*Amiens, le 17 janvier 1742.*

Emporté loin de nos vallons  
Et remonté par la Tamise  
Aux glaciales régions,  
Puisque ce Dieu des aquilons  
Dont le front et la barbe grise  
Brillent incrustés de glaçons,  
Cesse de nous souffler la bise  
Qu'il trichoit pour nous aux Lapons;  
Maintenant enfin que nous sommes  
Sous un ciel un peu plus humain,  
Et que les canards et les hommes  
Peuvent courir le grand chemin  
Sans risquer de voir leurs atomes  
Pétrifiés par le serein,  
Je viens vous annoncer la marche  
Des députés de nos cantons;  
Dans le plus lourd des phaétons  
On pourra demain à Lusarches  
Voir passer les quatre Catons

En silencieuse démarche;  
 Présidant dessus dix barbons  
 Des Indes, un vieux patriarche,  
 L' Adam, le Noé des dindons  
 S'est encroûté dans la même arche:  
 Dieu vous les mène sains et bons  
 Ainsi qu'ils sont partis, je pense.  
 Mais au jour qu'en votre présence  
 Nos envoyés bien parvenus  
 Auront enfin leur audience  
 Entre les Grâces et Vénus,  
 Chaulieu, Bonneval et Bacchus,  
 Songez qu'en un coin de la France  
 Un hermite qui vous chérit  
 Sera pour lors assez contrit  
 De n'être point de la séance.  
 Oui, je partirais plus gaiement  
 Pour voir cette joyeuse entrée  
 Que n'eusse fait dernièrement  
 Pour voir en simarre fourrée  
 La caravane du Croissant.  
 Fastueuse et froide soirée,  
 Où, sur les glaces de Paris,  
 Tant de pauvres chrétiens transis,  
 Tant de faces vertes et bleues  
 Grelottèrent pendant deux lieues  
 Et revinrent dans leur logis  
 Plus froids, plus bas que les trois queues  
 Du vieux primat des Bostangis.<sup>1</sup>

Vous avez dû recevoir, Monsieur, il y a sept ou huit jours, la lettre où je vous marquais les obstacles qui arrêtoient notre pâté. La gelée est à nos canards ce que la pluie est aux troupes du Pape. J'ay l'honneur d'être avec tous les sentiments du respect et de l'attachement que vous me connoissez,

Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur, Gresset.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Bostandjis" is the name of the guards of the Sultan, more especially those who conduct his boat.

<sup>2</sup> Renouard was not much impressed with the poetic value of this letter and states, in a note on the manuscript, that "cette pièce n'a pas été imprimée et ne mérite pas de l'être."

2. *Epître à M. le Duc de Choiseul.*<sup>1</sup>

On ne verra plus que mes vers  
 Et vous voulez en être cause  
 S'ils s'en vont courir l'univers  
 Et qu'un jour ou deux on en cause,  
 Car, bien ou mal, la rime expose  
 Au bruit, aux propos de travers,  
 Aux sots, aux esprits, à la glose  
 Des petits seigneurs aux faux airs  
 Et des oissons couleur de rose,  
 Enfin à cent degoûts divers  
 Que n'ont point ces messieurs en prose;  
 Dites du moins pour mon honneur,  
 Que c'est votre lettre charmante  
 Qui m'a forcé d'y revenir,  
 Et qu'à votre voix séduisante  
 Mon silence n'a pu tenir.  
 Oui, dans mon champêtre ermitage,  
 Animé par votre suffrage,  
 Sans doute je suis bien tenté  
 D'oser, dans un nouvel hommage,  
 Célébrer cet heureux ouvrage,  
 Ce pacte auguste et respecté  
 Qui sur la terre et sur les ondes  
 Etendant les noeuds les plus chers  
 Sera le bonheur des deux mondes;<sup>2</sup>  
 Mais quel seroit l'événement  
 De vouloir trop me faire lire  
 Du ministre sage et brillant  
 Par qui la gloire a su conduire  
 Cet immortel engagement ?  
 Je tracerois trop foiblement  
 Des travaux que l'Europe admire;  
 Ou quand même dans ce moment  
 J'atteindrois à les bien décrire,  
 A bien rendre les sentiments  
 De tout ce que Choiseul inspire,  
 Irois-je, ridiculement,  
 Et lourd comme une dédicace,

<sup>1</sup> Cayrol mentions the existence of this poem, of which he saw some fragments in Gresset's papers. *Op. cit.*, II, 11.

<sup>2</sup> Allusion to the alliance between France and Spain, called the "pacte de famille" and concluded in August, 1761. The same year the Duc de Choiseul became Ministre de la Marine and began the building of a great number of ships. The poem refers also to "de nouveaux pavillons naissants." It must, for both these reasons, be dated 1761.

L'ennuyer historiquement  
De son Panégyrique en face ?  
Je n'en feroi rien sûrement;  
Mais enfin, puisqu'il faut écrire  
Pour vous prouver tout votre empire,  
Lisez ce que m'offre l'instant.  
Dans cette époque où tout respire  
Le zèle le plus éclatant,  
C'est peut-être une rêverie  
Que je vais tracer à vos yeux,  
Mais quand on rêve de son mieux  
Pour l'intérêt de la Patrie,  
On peut sans indiscretion  
Offrir son rêve à la raison.  
J'écrivis le mien sur des tablettes  
Tel qu'il me vint tout brusquement  
Dans ces solitaires retraites  
Au vingt janvier me promenant,  
Et, malgré la sage maxime  
De n'écrire que lentement,  
Forcé d'oublier l'ornement  
Et les petits soins de la rime  
Pour être lu plus promptement;  
Quand l'objet d'un empressement  
Dont vous allez être l'arbitre  
Permettait du retardement  
Le zèle n'apoint le moment  
D'arranger un grave pupitre:  
Il voit, il s'enflamme, il agit;  
Et tandis qu'un froid bel esprit,  
S'attendant d'après son registre  
De ce que d'autres ont écrit,  
N'est encore qu'au premier chapitre,  
Il s'élance, il parle, il a dit!  
C'est d'après lui, c'est sur ce titre  
Que vous voudrez bien me juger:  
Dans ma longue petite épître  
Je n'ai pas le temps d'abréger.  
Si, dans l'inégal assemblage  
De ces vers sans prétention  
Quelquefois s'élevant sur leur ton  
J'ai presque les airs d'un ouvrage,  
C'est à l'instant, c'est à l'image  
A régler le trait du crayon.

Le céleste et puissant génie,  
 Qui veille du Trône des airs  
 Sur les droits augustes et chers  
 De la plus belle monarchie,  
 Lui ramène l'ange des mers;  
 Le cri brillant de la patrie  
 Vient d'en instruire l'univers;  
 Une mâle et noble allégresse,  
 Signal des plus heureux exploits,  
 Pénètre tous les coeurs françois  
 De sa lumière enchanteresse;  
 Tout n'est qu'une âme, tout s'empresse  
 D'exprimer au plus cher des rois  
 Cette universelle tendresse  
 Des peuples soumis à ses lois.  
 Pour le servir et pour lui plaire  
 De nouveaux pavillons naissants,  
 Décorés des noms triomphants  
 Du patriotisme sincère,  
 Vont courber les flots menaçants  
 Et de l'un à l'autre hemisphère  
 Sous le plus heureux ministère,  
 Etablissant l'égalité,  
 La franchise, la dignité  
 D'un commerce noble et prospère,  
 Vont affranchir sa liberté  
 Du joug funeste de la guerre,  
 Rendre aux mers la sérénité;  
 L'essor, l'éclat, l'activité,  
 Aux arts, aux trésors de la terre,  
 Et le calme à l'humanité.

3. *Chanson Picarde par Gresset, et par lui chantée dans un bal masqué à la réception de la Duchesse de Chaulnes, femme de l'Intendant d'Amiens.* Renouard gives in a note the following explanation about this poem:

Cette chanson a été écrite sous la dictée d'un très vieux paysan des environs d'Abbeville, avec lequel je me suis rencontré dans la diligence et qui m'a assuré, qu'ayant été un des jeunes garçons du pays auxquels il avait été permis d'assister à cette fête, il avait appris alors cette chanson que jamais depuis il n'avait oubliée. Si, en 1811, je l'avais eue elle aurait été placée dans mon édition de Gresset. Je l'ai dernièrement copiée dans le volume in

8° grand papier du *Parain* où sont recueillies toutes les variantes de ce poème prises sur le manuscrit du parent de Gresset, Mr. Boistel de Belloy.

*Air: La plus belle Promenade*

Quant ci voi pointer no Fête,  
Saquerque, que j'si content,  
Et cours comme eun' arbalète  
Déclaquer mon compliment.  
Madame, faut que j'veus baille  
Des violete ed no gardin,  
Ch'net morbleu point de l'racaille,  
Ch'est du biau et du pu fin.

Je n'vos aguincheraie mie d'roses,  
Car den vo gardin c'lo croit:  
On en comptroit eun bel'dose  
Sur vo biau, ginti minois.  
J'ai dit tout au fond de m'n âme,  
Au premier que j'vos ai vue,  
Sans barguigne v'lo 'n bel dame  
Qu'a bian l'air d'un biau Jesu.

Grand Dieu que de belles dames  
Qui gnia dans ce pays-ci;  
Ch'est morbieu vous l'pu bel fame  
Qu'ein puiss' nommer dan' Paris.  
Lorsqu'avec vous je me touille,  
J'ai vraiman' bian du bonheur:  
J'sens queq' chose qui m'catouille  
Jusqu'au robinet du cœur.

N'vlo ti pas des vers d'affût  
Aguinchés sur ein biau ton,  
Juste et carré com'eun flûte?  
Je n'sai mie si vo'plairont,  
J' s'râi p'neux com eun fondeur d'cloque  
Si o n'aprouvez m'cainchon,  
Et je m'rangargnrai dan' m'coque  
Comme ein pauvre limichon.

Note by Renouard: C'est bien du vrai exact Picard d'Amiens, d'Abbeville, de St. Valéry, etc.

4. *Brevet d'Ambassadeur en Pologne et d'Antiquaire de la Calotte pour M. l'Abbé de Livry.*

M. L'Abbé de Livry ci-devant ambassadeur du Roy en Portugal et à Madrid, sans avoir réussi dans ces deux ambassades par quelques difficultés sur le cérémonial, puis nommé à l'ambassade de Pologne, s'est vanté d'avoir découvert dans le livre de Samisius qu'il y avait eu à Lublin en Pologne une société d'un nommé Babin toute pareille à la Calotte.<sup>1</sup>

MOMUS, par la loi du destin,  
Maître du monde sublunaire  
Et divinité tutélaire  
De tout l'univers Calottin:  
Au noble et docte Abbé Sanguin  
Honneur et charge d'antiquaire.

Connaissant vos rares talents  
Pour tout genre de politique,  
Cérémonial et pratique,  
Eprouvé, sans le fruit des ans,  
Par une vive expérience  
Dans mainte longue résidence  
Près des plus dignes potentats.  
Nos Vice-rois en tout état;  
Instruit des droits de préséance,  
D'accueil, de visite, d'abord  
Pour les ambassadeurs de France  
Mieux qu'Amelot et Wiquefort,  
Avec quels efforts de prudence,  
De sagesse et d'intelligence,  
—Organe du plus grand des rois,—  
Par des discours fermes et graves  
Ne soutintes-vous pas ses droits  
Près du ministre des Algraves!  
Puis, pour sauver la dignité  
De votre auguste caractère,  
Passant brusquement chez l'Ibère,

<sup>1</sup> As members of the famous *Régiment de la Calotte* were nominated all those who had distinguished themselves by some absurd action or utterance. See Maurepas, *Mémoires*, 1792, Vol. II, and Léon Hennet, *Le Régiment de la Calotte*, 1886. The *Brevet* here published does not occur in the two editions of the *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la Calotte* which I have consulted (1732 and 1752), nor in the *Mémoires de Maurepas*. M. Wogue expresses the opinion that it is not intelligible. It is, however, entirely in the traditional style of all other mock *Brevets* of the *Régiment de la Calotte*, and the note, which introduces it, explains sufficiently the several allusions to the great success of the Abbé Sanguin de Livry as a diplomat and a discoverer of unknown documents on a precursor in Poland of the *Société de la Calotte*.

Contre les Gaulois irrité,  
Avec quelle légalité  
Vous désarmâtes sa colère  
Qu'allumait un secret traité!  
Ne pouvant faire un choix plus digne  
Que de vous, Calottin insigne,  
Pour faire renaitre à Lublin  
La société de Babin,  
Jadis membre de la Calotte  
Et soumise à notre Marotte:  
Vous commettons à ce dessein  
Agent plénipotentiaire  
Près du Palatin de Lublin,  
En crédit à ce nécessaire.

Voulons récompenser de plus  
Cette découverte authentique  
Qu'èss annales de familiers,  
En effleurant la politique,  
Votre talent scientifique  
A fait des antiques statuts  
De cette sage République  
Sur qui regnait Sigismundus,  
Adroit fauteur de l'hérétique:  
Vous établissons Chroniqueur  
De notre histoire cartulaire,  
Dont, en bonne forme et teneur,  
Au temps où la fève est en fleur,  
Vous remettrez un exemplaire  
A Colombat, notre imprimeur,  
Et Blanzy, bibliothécaire.

A source for discovery of unknown poems by Gresset which has hardly been opened up is found in the manuscript collections of poetry which have belonged to his friends or to book collectors of the time. Notwithstanding the decision of the last decades of his life not to allow any of his productions to be printed, he sent his *Epîtres* and his versified fancies to his acquaintances, who, exactly because they knew that these works of a successful author would not appear in print, must have taken pains to preserve them. Besides, the "fureur de l'inédit" is no modern phenomenon. It existed in France in the eighteenth century when scribes made it a regular business to

supply private libraries with manuscript versions of works, which, for personal, political, or religious reasons, could not be published with impunity.<sup>1</sup>

In a manuscript in my possession, dating from the end of the eighteenth century, I have found three unknown poems of Gresset which manifestly originate from his acquaintances, probably from Mme de Sémonville. The MS, in two different handwritings, is composed of three volumes, bound in two, respectively of 248, 159, and 224 pages. They have only binders' titles: *Recueil de Poésies*—*Recueil d'Epigrammes*—*Recueil de Chansons*.

In the *Recueil de Chansons* (p. 7) is found a long letter of Gresset to Mme de Sémonville, which is known to be authentic and has been included by De Beauvillé in his *Poésies inédites de Gresset* (p. 127). It is immediately followed, in my MS, by a letter from Gresset to Mme de Sémonville, as yet unpublished. The fact that it occurs directly after a letter known (since 1827) as Gresset's, pleads strongly in favor of its authenticity. When the MS was written neither of the two letters had appeared in print, and since it has been proved that the possessor of the manuscript was well informed about the authenticity of the first letter to Mme de Sémonville, there is no reason for supposing that he would have been mistaken about the second addressed to the same person. He must have derived them from the same source, at the same time. Besides, the poem is entirely in Gresset's habitual vein: It is a slight and glittering "badinage," with hardly more than a trace of a subject, pleasing, if not over-polished, true to the tradition of Chaulieu and La Fare:

*Recueil de Poésies*, p. 16:

*Par M. Gresset à Madame de Sémonville*

Pour le Temple de Thorigny,<sup>2</sup>  
Asile pour nous plus chéri  
Qu'aux vrais Musulmans n'est La Mecque,  
Nous avions juré que Jeudi  
Nous partirions de Mont l'Evêque;

<sup>1</sup> That Gresset's manuscripts were circulated can be seen, for instance, in the *Mémoires secrets* (12 janv. 1762) "On voit dans le public une lettre de M. Gresset à M. le Duc de Choiseul," etc. Another poem in manuscript is referred to on January 28, 1763.

<sup>2</sup> Department of the Seine and the Marne, in the Arrondissement of Meaux.

Et cependant du Samedi  
Nous avions vu naître l'aurore  
Sans que nous puissions dire encore  
Ni quel jour, ni comment, ni si,  
Nous partirions enfin d'ici:  
Vous, pour qui je romps un silence  
Qui fut forcé jusqu'à ce jour  
Faute d'encre ou de diligence,  
Vous vous trompez si, pour dispense  
Du vain serment d'un prompt retour,  
Vous imaginez qu'on n'avance.  
Que la beauté de ce séjour:  
Le printemps, les eaux, la prairie,  
L'ombrage antique de ces pins,  
Les fleurs, le nectar, l'ambroisie,  
La bonne crème et les lapins.  
Tout cela serait peu de chose  
Dans les mains d'un maître hébété,  
De plus d'un Midas encroûté  
Qui ne s'amuse, ni ne cause;  
Et si dans un pareil tombeau  
Le hasard eut pu nous conduire,  
Nous planterions là, sans rien dire  
Le châtelain dans son château;  
Mais par les grâces et l'aisance  
D'un esprit né pour être heureux,  
Fait pour cette aimable alliance  
Du ton plaisant et du sérieux,  
Et pour toute la confiance  
D'un commerce délicieux,  
L'heureux souverain de ces lieux  
En embellit la jouissance,  
Nous y tient enchantés tous deux,  
Et se charge de la dispense:  
Malgré le détestable temps  
Que nous souffle le vent de l'Ourse,  
Malgré ces brouillards désolants  
Qui nous font croire à tous moments  
Phébus égaré dans sa course,  
Nous avons ici le printemps:  
Exempts de regrets pour la ville,  
Nuls désirs en ce libre asile  
Ne nous resteraient à former

Si quelqu'un qu'on voudrait nommer,  
 Qui sait penser, gronder et plaire,  
 Venait disputer et charmer  
 Dans ce bocage solitaire,  
 Où l'on ne s'accorderait guère  
 Qu'à la contredire et l'aimer  
 Et qu'à l'empêcher de se taire.

The MS *Recueil d'Epigrammes* gives also an epigrammatic letter from Gresset to the same Mme de Sémonville (p. 38):

*Par M. Gresset à Madame de Sémonville*

Puisque ceux qui n'écrivent pas  
 Reçoivent seul l'honneur de la réponse,  
 Un silence parfait est tout ce que j'annonce,  
 Et si je suis piqué, je le pense tout bas.

The next unpublished poem by Gresset is addressed to the well-known Abbé de Chauvelin, one of the three brothers Chauvelin—the Marquis, the Intendant, and the Abbé—relatives of the Garde des Sceaux of the same name,<sup>1</sup> with whom Gresset was long in friendly relations. The Abbé Henri-Philippe de Chauvelin (1714-70) had his hour of ephemeral celebrity as an opponent of the Jesuits, for whose banishment from France in 1762 he is said to have been largely responsible. He published some polemical works, defended Voltaire's plays against contemporary criticism, and was a habitual figure in the literary drawing-rooms of the time. At a certain moment he was famous enough to see his portrait, framed with that of Henri IV, revered as a symbol of political freedom. He must have met Gresset in the Salon of the Duchess de Chaulnes, who protected the poet (Wogue, p. 99). The attachment of Gresset is evident from a poem to the Abbé de Chauvelin (dated 1738), found in his works, and from a letter which he wrote to him about his difficulties with Voltaire: "J'aurais à vous communiquer des secrets d'où dépendent mon bonheur et ma vie ..." (Cayrol, I, 201). In another letter in verse he acclaims him as "le Phénix des Amis," and refers to the fact that he wrote for him a great deal of verse:

Sur ce pied, cher ami, vous le jugez sans peine,  
 De ces archives de ma veine,  
 Vous occuperez la moitié. ... (Cayrol, I, 202.)

<sup>1</sup>Cf. *Biogr. universelle*; Wogue, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-100.

The poem published here is a wish for the recovery of the Abbé who is said to have been habitually in bad health (cf. *Biogr. Gén.*). It must belong to the later period of Gresset's life—after 1750—and is remarkable for the tone of complaint about his exile in the provinces. He speaks of the

. . . . . antres sauvages  
Où mon sort me condamne aux ombres de l'oubli.

Gresset, dissatisfied with the noisy Parisian drawing-rooms, withdrew to the country, but there is sufficient evidence in his work to show that he did not find peace in the "bocages" of his dreams.<sup>1</sup> Nowhere, however, did he refer quite so unmistakably to his disillusionment.

*Recueil de Poésies*, p. 19:

*Mr. Gresset à M. l'Abbé Chauvelin*

Malgré l'étoile infortunée  
Qui conduit au hasard, sur le fleuve du temps,  
Ma barque solitaire, errante, abandonnée,  
J'ai partout vu briller quelques heureux instants,  
Et l'ire de ma destinée  
S'est quelquefois parée des roses du printemps;  
Mais jamais aucune journée,  
Illustré et cher ami, n'a tant charmé mes sens,  
Ni mis dans mon désert plus de fleurs et d'encens  
Que ce jour où j'apprends qu'une main souveraine,  
Sensible au salut de vos jours,  
Pour en raffermir l'heureux cours  
Sous un ciel plus doux vous ramène.  
Vous étiez éloigné, languissant, affaibli.  
Je souffrais tous vos maux, tremblant, enseveli  
Dans la douleur profonde et les plus noirs présages:  
L'amitié gémissait dans les antres sauvages  
Où mon sort me condamne aux ombres de l'oubli;  
Vous habitez enfin de plus heureux rivages.  
Mon âme échappe au deuil, aux funèbres images,  
Et mon désert est embelli  
Quand le plus grand des Rois jette un regard de père  
Sur nos maux que nous déplorions:

<sup>1</sup> He wrote to the Abbé Aunillon: "Vous m' avez fait un vrai plaisir en causant un peu de Paris. ... Je vous aurais écouté trois jours et trois nuits. En vérité, c'est porter les lumières dans les brouillards du Spitzberg que d'envoyer quelques pauvres petites nouvelles dans les ténèbres et l'ignorance de la Picardie." (*Revue Rétrospective*, I, 412.)

Ce bienfait me présage une faveur plus chère;  
 L'espérance à mes yeux ranimant la lumière  
 Développe tous les rayons.  
 L'auguste bienfaisance est le vrai caractère  
 Du héros que nous adorons.  
 Renaissez! Dérobez votre âme lumineuse  
 Aux voiles redoublés de l'ennui destructeur:  
 A pas lents, mais trop sûrs, sa force impérieuse  
 Anéantit notre être en flétrissant le cœur.  
 O Toi, le premier bien, Toi, l'âme de la vie,  
 Toi sans qui nul bonheur, nul rang digne d'envie  
 Pour la fragile humanité,  
 Reviens, entendis ma voix, divinité chérie,  
 Heureuse et brillante Santé!  
 Descends, fixe—toi sur l'asile  
 Qu'habite le mortel que te nomment mes voeux,  
 Ecarte loin de lui les vents tumultueux,  
 Rappelle le Zéphir tranquille,  
 Le sommeil de la paix et les songes heureux!  
 Que tes Nymphes, Io, Naïs et Galatée,  
 De son sang ranimé réparant les canaux,  
 Des flots de leur veine argentée  
 En renouvellement les ruisseaux!  
 Pars, épure l'air qu'il respire,  
 Eclaircis l'horizon trop longtemps orageux,  
 Dans toute leur fratcheur fais briller à ses yeux  
 L'aube, le vert naissant, les fleurs de ton empire!  
 Parmi l'oubli des soins, les loisirs et les jeux,  
 Remets entre ses mains cette éclatante lyre  
 Dont les sons autrefois m'élevaient jusqu'aux cieux.  
 Rends-lui la jeunesse des Dieux,  
 Et surtout la gaieté que ta présence inspire,  
 Cette gaieté naïve et le sage délire  
 Qui prolonge la vie et fait les vrais heureux!  
 C'en est fait: Le ciel s'intéresse  
 A des voeux purs, formés par la seule tendresse  
 Dans la vérité des déserts.  
 Déjà le char brillant de la jeune Déesse  
 Parfume et rafraîchit les airs:  
 Je la vois, cher ami, de roses couronnée,  
 Bannir le sombre ennui, la crainte, la douleur  
 Et recouvrir de fleurs la trame fortunée  
 De vos jours et de mon bonheur.

If the career of the Abbé de Chauvelin and his relations with Gresset are well known, no more information seems to exist about his other friend here referred to, Mme de Sémonville, than the letter to her, published in the *Poésies inédites de Gresset*. The Abbé de Chauvelin was an occasional poet—Gresset refers hyperbolically to his “éclatante lyre”—and sent some gems of his Muse to Mme de Sémonville. Two of them are found in my MSS. They show that she was a common friend of both Gresset and De Chauvelin, and that the poet's later years in the provinces were enlivened by poetical relations with kindred spirits, whose mediocre poetic talents were devoted to the celebration of their lasting friendship.

*Recueil d'Epigrammes*, p. 38:

*Par M. l'Abbé Chauvelin à Madame de Sémonville*

Vous l'ordonnez! Que j'aime à m'y soumettre!  
Je sollicite et pour l'amour de vous,  
Mon cœur, Eglé, prend la chose à la lettre. ...  
Est-il motif plus puissant et plus doux?

Another small poem throws some light on the rather intimate relations of De Chauvelin with Mme De Sémonville, to whom he confided his sorrows:

*Recueil d'Epigrammes*, p. 41:

*Par M. l'Abbé de Chauvelin à Madame de Sémonville*

Hier je vous ouvris mon cœur,  
Mais je déchirai sa blessure;<sup>1</sup>  
Ne pensez pas que j'en murmure:  
Il n'est plus pour moi de bonheur  
Que la douceur vaine et cruelle  
De retracer sans cesse une perte immortelle,  
Et de répandre ma douleur  
Dans le sein d'une amie et sensible et fidèle.

Mme de Sémonville did write some poetry herself, of which my MS contains an example. I quote a few strophes, not to claim any admiration for her slight talent, but as a proof of her taste for poetry,

<sup>1</sup> “Il venait de perdre sa sœur.” (Footnote of the MS.)

which, no doubt, lay at the bottom of her friendly relations with Gresset:

*Recueil de Poésies*, p. 35:

*Réponse de Madame de Sémonville à Madame d'Arconville qui lui avait envoyé des vers sous le nom d'un amant*

Vous voulez me dépayser,  
Je vous reconnaïs, belle muse:  
Ce n'est point ainsi qu'on m'abuse,  
Il fallait mieux vous déguiser.

Mon cœur ne pouvait s'y méprendre;  
Vous prenez le ton d'un amant:  
Je n'en ai point assurément,  
Et bientôt j'ai cru vous entendre.

Faire l'amante ou bien l'amant,  
C'est pour vous un pur badinage,  
Et vous savez parfaitement  
Toutes sortes de personnages, etc.

These few additions to the works of the amiable singer of *Vair-Vert* and the incisive satirist of the *Méchant* add some data to a little-known part of his life and hold out hope that, after all, the destruction of his manuscripts will not prove entirely irreparable.

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## BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON SPENSER

Few material facts in the field of Spenserian biography have been brought to light since the publication of Grosart's full but highly unsatisfactory life of the poet. The data here presented, which have thus far escaped the notice of Spenser scholars, cannot pretend to great significance, but they may point the way to a solution of one or two problems.

Among the rewards for service granted by Lord Grey to Spenser in 1582<sup>1</sup> was, as is well known, the "custodiam"<sup>2</sup> of a tract of land called "Newland," in County Kildare, formerly belonging to one John Eustace. This Eustace was no doubt a member of the family to which the rebel leader, James Eustace, Viscount Baltinglas, belonged. The grant could have been made only on the ground that John Eustace was himself "attainted" of treason. Nothing is known concerning Spenser's disposition of the property. No documents have been discovered which show that he either improved it or disposed of it. As a matter of fact, it seems doubtful whether he retained it long, if indeed he ever obtained possession of it. Among the names of those appointed on May 21, 1583,<sup>3</sup> as commissioners for musters in County Kildare, among whom Spenser was one, appears that of "John Eustace of Newland." Again, the next year, Eustace's name appears, with Spenser's, as a member of the same commission.<sup>4</sup> This Eustace could hardly have been other than the original owner of the estate granted to Spenser. While there were doubtless several John Eustaces in County Kildare, and possibly more than

<sup>1</sup> See *State Papers of Ireland* (1574-85), p. 345; F. I. Carpenter, *A Reference Guide to Edmund Spenser*, p. 31.

<sup>2</sup> A "custodiam" is, in Irish law (*New English Dictionary*), a "grant by the Exchequer (for three years) of lands, etc., in possession of the Crown." There were, it seems, in Spenser's time, certain conditions attached to the enjoyment of a custodiam; see a communication from Queen Elizabeth to Geoffrey Fenton in 1585, entitled, "Heads of an Instruction for Secretary Fenton, Esq., to Be Communicated to the Lord Deputy," etc. (*Lodge, Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica*, I [1772], 75).

<sup>3</sup> *Fians Elizabeth*, No. 4150. See F. I. Carpenter, *op. cit.*, p. 39. Spenser's presence on this commission was first pointed out by P. M. Buck, Jr., in "New Facts concerning the Life of Edmund Spenser," *Modern Language Notes*, XIX, 237-38.

<sup>4</sup> *Fians*, No. 4464.

*Eustace in*  
one estate called "Newland," it is certainly unlikely that there were two John Eustaces "of Newland." The presence of the name of Eustace, conjoined with that of his estate, in these documents must mean two things: that he was not then regarded as a "traitor," and that he was in possession of Newland.

If these conclusions are correct, why did the estate, formally and validly granted to Spenser by the lord deputy, pass back into the hands of its former owner in less than ten months? Two or three explanations are possible, none of which, however, is entirely satisfactory. The most obvious is that Spenser, unable or unwilling to fulfil the conditions imposed by the custodiam, lost possession by default. In that case the property would have reverted to the crown, and would no doubt have been regranted to some other English official or "loyal" Irishman, unless the former owner had then received a pardon. Or Spenser may have disposed of his grant to Eustace for a consideration. So long, however, as the latter was regarded as a "traitor," such a transaction was unlikely. Finally, there is the possibility that, on account of technical legal obstacles, Spenser was never able to obtain possession of the estate. There is abundant testimony in the *Irish State Papers* of this period to the numerous difficulties encountered by English colonists in Ireland in their attempts to settle on "escheated" lands.<sup>1</sup> Spenser may have given up in disgust, after unsuccessful attempts to enjoy his custodiam. But it seems unlikely that he would have relinquished his claim without a recorded protest, in view of his official position and influence.

These theories may explain why Spenser was not, apparently, in possession of Newland in 1583 and 1584; they do not explain the presence on the aforementioned commission of an "attained" traitor. A possible explanation lies in the obvious inference that Eustace, like many Irishmen involved in rebellion who were not important enough to be prosecuted by the government, received a pardon, and was thus under no civil disability. We find, in the series of documents already cited, more than a hint that such was

<sup>1</sup> See note to *Fians*, No. 5033 (Appendix to the *Sixteenth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records of Ireland*, p. 31): "The following remark appears in the Auditor General's collection entitled 'Schedule of Lands in Munster Passed to Undertakers, 1599: "Memorandum, that the patentees coulde never gett possession of the premysses, and therefore to be considered of."'"

the case. According to *Fiants*, Number 3996, bearing the date of August 26, 1582, one John Eustace is included in a list of those who on that day received pardons. Whether or not he was the John Eustace of Newland, County Kildare, is not indicated; but in the same list is named one Wogan, of that county. It is possible, then, that the owner of Newland was restored to full civil rights very soon after his property was granted to the lord deputy's chief secretary; and that this pardon, conferred five days before Lord Grey surrendered his sword,<sup>1</sup> reduced at least one of Spenser's "rewards" to tantalizing nothingness.

It is well known, of course, that Barnabe Googe spent some years in Ireland during Spenser's residence there;<sup>2</sup> but, so far as I am aware, no facts definitely connecting the two have been published. There is, however, a bit of evidence among the *State Papers* which heightens the probability that Lord Grey's secretary and the protégé of Lord Burghley met in Ireland just as Grey was preparing to return home. Googe, who came to Ireland as early as 1574, had gone back to England, and revisited Ireland, it seems, on the eve of Grey's departure. Writing to Burghley on November 12, 1584,<sup>3</sup> concerning some office in the Irish service, apparently promised him by Grey but not obtained, he said: "The Lord Graye leavyng Ireland att my comynge hathe lefte mee nothyng butt hys baare hande for the Offyce, whych I feare is too weake a Tytle to hold itt by." If he made personal suit to Grey for an office, it is more than likely that his business was known to Spenser, who probably also met the applicant personally. Googe's presence in Ireland in August, 1582, is attested by a letter of the twenty-seventh of that month.<sup>4</sup> He was in Dublin again in 1584.<sup>5</sup> That Spenser should have failed to cultivate the acquaintance of a man of literary tastes, already known as a poet, while opportunity afforded,<sup>6</sup> is hard to believe. It seems reasonable,

<sup>1</sup> Bagwell, *Ireland under the Tudors*, III, 97.

<sup>2</sup> See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, article "Googe, Barnabe"; *Notes and Queries*, Ser. III, Vol. III, pp. 141, 181, 241, 301, 361.

<sup>3</sup> The letter is printed in part in *ibid.*, p. 361.

<sup>4</sup> *State Papers of Ireland* (1574-85), p. 392.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 530, 532; letters of October 19 and October 23.

<sup>6</sup> Googe seems to have left Ireland in 1585 (see letter of Lord Deputy Perrot, *State Papers of Ireland* [1574-85], p. 56). There is no evidence that he returned to Ireland after this date.

then, to assume that Googe is to be included in Spenser's "circle" in Ireland.

That Spenser, as principal secretary to Lord Grey, accompanied his employer on all his official journeys we may take for granted in the absence of testimony to the contrary. Likewise, we may assume that on state occasions in or near Dublin the deputy's immediate household was present with him. One of these ceremonials, which the viceroy would naturally attend if he was in the capital city at the time, was the set feast provided by the mayor and sheriffs of the city on Easter Monday at "Cullenswood," outside the walls of Dublin. According to the *Ancient Records of Dublin*<sup>1</sup> Lord Grey was present at this feast in 1581. This fact may be accepted tentatively, at least, as evidence as to Spenser's life in Dublin.

The relation of these minutiae to the life of Spenser is, to be sure, conjectural; but since they have direct bearing on three important phases of his residence in Ireland—his experiments in landholding, his "circle," and his activities in Dublin—they have a certain value.

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<sup>1</sup> Ed., J. T. Gilbert, II, 155, and Preface, p. x.

## G. W. SENIOR AND G. W. I.

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Two sonnets "To the Author" were prefixed to Spenser's *Amoretti* in 1595, whether by the poet himself or by his publisher Ponsonby. They were evidently written by admirers of Spenser—probably by friends of his. The names of the writers doubtless could be guessed by most contemporary readers. They are not so easy for us to guess, and yet we are curious to know who were these friends of Spenser's.

"G. W. Senior" suggests that "G. W. I." stands for "G. W. Junior," obviously father and son.

Todd's guess is that "G. W. Senior" is George Whetstone, the poet. This necessitates the creation of a George Whetstone, Junior, to fit the "G. W. I." although no evidence of the existence of a George Whetstone, Junior, is adduced. Moreover, George Whetstone, the poet, is believed to have died *ca.* 1587. As Collier notes, he appears to have shown ignorance of the authorship of the *Shepherds' Calender*, and there is no other evidence that he was a member of Spenser's "Circle." So the Whetstones seem a bad guess, in spite of the fact that George Whetstone, Senior, in his day apparently had a passion for writing commendatory verses.

Other G. W.'s of the period likewise seem to fall by the way, such as George Walker (1581–1656), George Waterhouse (d. 1602), George Webb (1581–1642), George Weymouth (fl. 1605), and George Wilson (fl. 1607), either because they were too young in 1595, or because their interests and careers were too remote from Spenser's (composer, voyager, vicar, and writer on cock-fighting, etc.), and especially because in no case does the requisite "junior" appear.

One would like to establish a connection between Spenser and Geoffrey Whitney (1548?–1601?), the author of the book of *Emblems*, with which the former was probably acquainted. Whitney was "the son of a father of the same name" (DNB), but if this father is the "G. W. Senior," his sonnet to Spenser must have been composed in his seventies—more probably in his eighties. Whitney, Junior, was educated partly at Cambridge, and Leicester was his patron. This pair offers a possible solution.

Giles Wigginton (fl. 1564-97), the Cambridge Calvinist and Puritan, imprisoned and deprived by Whitgift, but restored by Burghley in 1592, may have appealed to the sympathies of the poet of the *Shepherds' Calender*, but is not likely to have been in the circle of the amorous and sonneteer of 1595. Moreover, again the "Junior" is lacking.

But in addition to the Whitneys there is still another pair that may be stretched to fit the case. There is record of a George Wilkins "the Poet," who died in London in 1603. Sir Sidney Lee, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, conjectures that he "may have been father of the dramatist and pamphleteer." Nothing further is known of him save the entry of his death with its reference to him as "the Poet." George Wilkins (possibly "Junior"), the dramatist, is better known, both for his own work and for his connection with Shakespeare. It is quite possible that the father as a very minor (and unpublished) poet, probably in touch with men of letters in London, may have met Spenser there, together with his son, and that both were drawn to write sonnets in praise of the greater luminary.

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## MAROT'S PREFACE TO HIS EDITION OF VILLON'S WORKS

Although literary criticism may long be said to have become the monopoly of a few professionals, it is nevertheless still delightful to read what one poet says of another. From this point of view Marot's Preface to his edition of the works of François Villon is intensely interesting. It is also one of the earliest attempts at serious criticism in French literature. As certain passages of the Preface require explanation and since one must consider the document as a whole in order to estimate Marot properly in his rôle of critic, the Preface is here reproduced *in toto*.

Préface des poesies de Villon.

(1532)

Clément Marot de Cahors aux lecteurs

Entre tous les bons livres imprimez de la langue françoise, ne s'en veoit ung si incorrect ne si lourdement corrompu que celuy de Villon; et m'esbahy (veu que c'est le meilleur poete parisien qui se trouve) comment les imprimeurs de Paris, et les enfans de la ville n'en ont eu plus grand soing. Je ne suy (certes) en rien son voisin; mais pour l'amour de son gentil entendement, et en recompense de ce que je puis avoir aprins de luy en lisant ses œuvres, j'ay faict à ycelles ce que je vouldrais estre faict aux miennes, si elles estoient tombées en semblable inconvenient; tant y ay trouvé de brouillerie en l'ordre des coupletz et des vers, en mesure, en langage, en la ryme et en la raison, que je ne sçay duquel je doy plus avoir pitié, ou de l'œuvre ainsi oultrement gastée, ou de l'ignorance de ceulx qui l'imprimerent; et pour vous en faire preuve me suis avisé (lecteurs) de vous mettre icy un des coupletz incorrectz du mal imprimé Villon, qui vous sera exemple et tesmoing d'un grand nombre d'autres autant broillez et gastez que luy, lequel est tel:

Or est vray qu'apres plainetz et pleurs,  
Et angoisseux gemissemens,  
Apres tristesse et douleurs,  
Labours et griefs cheminemens  
Travaille mes lubres sentemens  
Aguyez ronds, comme une pelote  
Monstrent plus que les comments  
En sens moral d'Aristote.

Qui est celluy qui vouldroit nier le sens n'en estre grandement corrompu ?  
 Ainsi pour vray l'ay je trouvé aux vieilles impressions, et encores pis aux nouvelles. Or voyez maintenant comment il a esté rhabillé, et en jugez gracieusement :

Or est vray qu'apres plainctz et pleurs  
 Et angoisseux gemissemens,  
 Apres tristesses et douleurs,  
 Labeurs et griefz cheminements,  
 Travail mes lubres sentemens  
 Aguysa (ronds comme pelote)  
 Me monstrant plus que les comments  
 Sur le sens moral d'Aristote.

Voylà comment il me semble que l'autheur l'entendoit, et vous suffise ce petit amendement, pour vous rendre advertiz de ce que puis avoir amendé en mille autres passaiges, dont les aucuns me ont esté aisez, et les autres tresdifficiles: toutesfoys, partie par l'ayde des bons vieillards qui en sçavent par cuer, et partie par deviner avecques jugement naturel, a esté reduct notre Villon en meilleure et plus entiere forme qu'on ne l'a veu de noz aages, et ce sans avoir touché à l'antiquité de son parler, à sa façon de rimer, à ses meslées et longues paranthèses, à la quantité de ses syllabes, ne à ses couppees, tant fermenines que masculines, esquelles choses il n'a suffisamment observé les vrayes reigles de françoyse poesie, et ne suis d'avis que en cela les jeunes poetes l'ensuyvent, mais bien qu'ils cueillent ses sentences comme belles fleurs, et qu'ilz contemplent l'esprit qu'il avoit, que de luy ilz apreignent à proprement descrire, et qu'ilz contrefacent sa veine, mesmement celle dont il use dans ses ballades, qui est vrayement belle et heroïque; et ne fay doubté qu'il n'eust emporté le chapeau de laurier devant tous les poetes de son temps s'il eust été nourry en la court des roys et des princes, là où les jugemens se amendent et les langages se polissent. Quant à l'industrie de ses lays qu'il feit en ses *Testamens*, pour suffisamment la cognoistre et entendre, il fauldroit avoir esté de son temps à Paris, et avoir cogneu les lieux, les choses et les hommes dont il parle, la memoire desquelz tant plus se passera, tant moins se congnoistra icelle industrie de ses lays dictz. Pour cette cause, qui vouldra faire une œuvre de longue durée, ne preigne son suget sur telles choses basses et particulières. Le reste des œuvres de nostre Villon (hors cela) est de tel artifice, tant plein de bonne doctrine et tellement painct de mille couleurs, que le temps qui tout efface, jusques icy ne l'a sceu effacer, et moins encores l'effacera ores et d'icy en avant que les bonnes escriptures françaises sont et seront mieulx congues et recueillies que jamais.

Et pource (comme j'ay dict) que je n'ay touché à son antique façon de parler, je vous ay exposé sur la marge, avecques les annotations, ce qui m'a semblé le plus dur à entendre, laissant le reste à vos promptes intelligences, comme *ly roya* pour *le roy*, *homs* pour *homme*, *compaing* pour *compagnon*; force pluriers pour singuliers, et plusieurs autres incongritez dont estoit

plein le langage mal lymé d'icelluy temps. Apres, quand il s'est trouvé faulfe de vers entiers j'ay pris peine de les refaire au plus pres (selon mon possible) de l'intencion de l'autheur: les trouverez expressemement marquez de ceste marque,† afin que ceulx qui les sçauront en la sorte que Villon les fist, effacent les nouveaux pour faire place aux vieux.

Oultre plus, les termes et les vers qui estoient interposez trouverez reduictz à leur place, les lignes trop courtes alongées, les trop courtes acourties, les motz obmys remys, les adjoustez ostez, et les tiltres myeulz attiltrez.

Finablement, j'ay changé l'ordre du livre, et m'a semblé plus raisonnable de le faire commencer par le *Petit Testament*, d'autant qu'il fut faict cinq ans avant l'autre.

Touchant le jargon, je le laisse à corriger et exposer aux successeurs de Villon en l'art de la pinse et du croq.

Et si quele'un, d'avventure, veult dire que tout ne soit racoutré ainsi qu'il appartient, je luy respons qué s'il estoit autant navré en sa personne comme j'ay trouvé Villon blessé en ses œuvres, il n'y a expert chirurgien qui le sceuut penser sans apparence de cicatrice; et me suffira que le labeur qu'en ce j'ay employé soit agreable au roy mon souverain, qui est cause et motif de ceste emprise et de l'execution d'icelle, pour avoir veu voulentiers escouter et par très bon jugement estimer plusieurs passages des œuvres qui s'ensuyvent.

From Marot himself we learn that he undertook the task of editing Villon at the request of the king, François I. This young monarch's interest seems to have been more than the usual polite fiction of the courtier. Not only, says Marot, was François the "cause et motif" of the enterprise, but he liked to have Villon's poetry read aloud to him, and on occasion deigned to pass kingly judgment thereon.

In the following *huitain* Marot has gracefully acknowledged his debt to royal initiative.

Au roy François Ier.

Si à Villon on treuve encor à dire  
 S'il n'est reduict ainsi qu'ay pretendu,  
 A moy tout seul en soit le blasme (Sire),  
 Qui plus y ay travaillé qu'entendu:  
 Et s'il est mieuulx en son ordre estendu  
 Que paravent, de sorte qu'on l'en prise,  
 Le gré à vous en doyt estre rendu,  
 Qui fustes seul cause de l'entreprise.

Marot's edition of the poems of Villon was published in 1532 by Galliot du Pré, a Parisian publisher who had already issued in

July of that year an edition of Villon's works. This edition contained, however, many apocryphal poems such as *Les Repues franches*, *Le Monologue du franc archer de Bagnolet*, and *Le dialogue de Malleipay et Baillevent*. Now, we know from Marot's letter to Etienne Dolet that he himself bitterly resented being saddled with poems which he had not written and which he felt might injure his reputation in the eyes of posterity, so we may surmise that it was he who first apprised Galiot of the faultiness of his edition and first suggested himself as editor of the emended version.

Now, even fifteenth-century publishers did not work for love or royal approbation: Villon must have been, in the jargon of today, "a best seller" if we judge by the number of editions prior to that of Marot. Paul Lacroix<sup>1</sup> indicates fifteen, of which the second, that is, the first bearing a date, appeared in 1489. The fifteenth is that published on July 20, 1532.

The number of reimpresions of Marot's revision of the poems of Villon is a sufficient criterion of the popularity of both poet and editor. Of reimpresions actually indicated as revised by Marot or copied from the Marotian edition, we have the following: (a) Pub. Galliot du Pré, Paris, no date. (b) Pub. François Regnault (quoted as Paris, Denis Lelong, in Laraguais' catalogue). (c) An edition, n.d. with the inscription, *On les vend en la boutique de Jehan Andry*. (d) *chez François Juste, devant Notre Dame de Confort*, Lyon, 1537. (e) *On les vend en la rue Saint Jacques à l'enseigne de l'homme sauvage chez Nicolas Gilles*, vers 1540. This edition, says Lacroix, was specially made so as to be added to the edition of the works of Clément Marot printed at Paris 1540, 1542, and 1544. (f) Ambroise Gyrault, Paris, 1542. (g) An edition of Villon's works, Alain Lotrain, Paris, 1542. In the opinion of Brunet this edition is a copy of the Marot version of 1533. (h) *Les œuvres de F.V. (avec les notes de Clément Marot et d'Eusèbe de Laurière et une lettre de M. de ... par le P. de Cerceau)*. Coustonier, Paris, 1723.

Now the secret of successful advertising consists in the polite disparagement of your competitor's wares. That this was as true in the sixteenth as in the twentieth century we may see from Marot's

<sup>1</sup> *Œuvres de François Villon*. Flammarion. Preface.

modest réclame. Speaking of previous editions of Villon, he says: "Tant y ay trouvé de brouillerie en l'ordre des coupletz et des vers, en mesure, en langage, en la ryme et en la raison, que je ne sçay duquel je doy plus avoir pitié, ou de l'œuvre ainsi oultrement gastée, ou de l'ignorance de ceulx qui l'imprimerent." As a specimen of his editorial skill he gives us his emended version of the second half of the twelfth *huitain* of the *Grand Testament*. His original he takes from the 1532 edition of Galliot du Pré. The passage, according to Lacroix, is "peu intelligible dans les manuscrits comme dans les éditions." Marot, by the way, did not know the manuscripts. According to Lacroix, neither was he familiar with the fifteenth-century editions, though in view of this passage which I quote from the Preface I hardly think Lacroix is justified in his assertion. "Ainsi pour vray l'ay trouvé aux *vieilles* impressions et encores pis aux *nouvelles*." (Marot is referring to the XIIth *huitain* of the *Grand Testament*.) His sources as enumerated in the Preface are "les vieulx imprimenez ... , " "l'ayde des bons vieillardz qui en sçavent par cuer," and his "jugement naturel." If we accept the verdict of Guiffrey<sup>1</sup> Marot, in his work of emendation has been the victim of his "jugement naturel." Guiffrey says: "Enfin Marot, fait sonner trop haut ses rares et souvent insignifiantes rectifications. Il est même à regretter qu'il n'ait point assez tenu compte des éditions originales, où l'on trouve le texte dans la plus grande pureté."

As a matter of interest I append four versions of the last half of the *huitain* which so exercised Marot.

Galliot du Pré, 1532.  
 Travaille mes lubres sentemens  
 Aguysez ronds, comme pelote  
 Monstrent plus que les commens  
 En sens moral d'Aristote.

Prompsault (MS of Bib. Nat., 20041).  
 Travail mes lubres sentemens  
 Aguisez rondz comme pelote  
 M'ouvrast plus que tous les commens  
 En sens moral d'Aristote.

<sup>1</sup> Clément Marot, *Œuvres*, Vol. II. p. 264, n. 1.

Marot's edition, 1533

Travail mes lubres sentemens  
Aguysa (ronds comme pelote)  
Me monstrant plus que les comments  
Sur le sens moral d'Aristote.

Lacroix's version<sup>1</sup>

Trouve mes lubres sentemens,  
Esguisez comme une pelote  
Mouvoir plus que tous les Commens  
D'Averroys sur Aristote.

Commenting on his specimen amendment Marot naïvely remarks: "Voylà comment il me semble que l'autheur l'entendoit, et vous suffise ce petit amendement, pour vous rendre advertiz de ce que puis avoir amendé en mille autres passaiges, dont les aucuns me ont esté aisez, et les aultres tresdifficiles." It must be a matter for consolation to our patient modern commentators of Villon to read the closing words of this quotation. After all, at the date of Marot's writing, in 1533, only seventy-two years had elapsed since the first appearance of the *Grand Testament*. The first edition bearing a date is that of 1489. In the interval between the first appearance of the *Grand Testament*, 1461 and 1489—twenty-eight years—there is a paucity of manuscripts. Prompsault cites only two for the fifteenth century and Lacroix one. All sorts of errors and misquotations obviously arose. These multiplied as edition succeeded edition culminating in the confusion indicated by Marot in his Preface. It is interesting to note that he relied to some extent on the versions of Villon's poems furnished from memory by various old gentlemen of his acquaintance—"des bons vieillards qui en sçavent par cuer." Those of us who have heard for example, memory versions of Burns's poems from the lips of old Scotsmen, "qui en sçavent par cuer," will realize to what extent the original version may thus be distorted. It is possible that one of Marot's good old gentlemen was his own father, Jean Marot who knew his Villon and indeed quotes the Parisian poet in a begging epistle to the "trésorier Robertet."

Et comme dit Villon en ses brocars  
De ma santé je viendrais aux lombars  
Voire mes ans se argent voulaient produire.

<sup>1</sup> Villon, *Œuvres* (Flammarion, Paris), p. 66.

When Marot enters on the criticism of Villon's technique he does so with the sureness of a connoisseur. He explains that in his work of emendation he has not touched on Villon's "façon de rimer, à ses meslées et longues paranthèses, à la quantité de ses syllabes, ne à ses coupes, tant femenines que masculines." He warns contemporary poets against imitating the fifteenth-century man in these particulars, wherein, he thinks the latter has not "suffisamment observé les vrayes reigles de françoysse poesie."

Marot, it will be seen, displays no hesitation, no diffidence in his critical pronouncements. And, indeed, there is no reason why he should. Just as much as Ronsard and Malherbe and nearly as much as Boileau, he kinged it in contemporary poetic society. He was deferred to by every poet in France and nothing of poetic value was published without first passing under the eye of the *maitre*. His ideal is in no way different from that of Ronsard, Malherbe, and Boileau. It is to purge the French language of confusion and obscurity. That is what he is attacking here in the Preface. He anticipates Boileau's:

Que toujours le bon sens s'accorde avec le rime.

And this is how he puts it in his *Response à un rondeau qui se commençoit, "Maitre Clement, mon bon amy"*:

Bien inventer, vous fault premierement  
L'invention deschiffrer proprement  
Si que raison et rithme ne soit morte en un rondeau.  
Usez de mots reçuez communement,  
Rien superflu ne soit aucunement. ...

"Rithme et raison" is his *cri de guerre*. In the *Epistre à Sagon* which is Marot's *Art poétique* he returns again to the charge.

Mais il convient garder rithme et raison  
Rithme et raison, ainsi comme il me semble  
Doivent toujours estre logez ensemble. ...

In his estimate of the artistic merit of Villon's poetry, Marot is generous and, unlike most literary prophets, accurate. He places his finger unerringly on the three master-qualities of Villonesque poetry-*esprit*, descriptive power, and *veine héroïque*. The poetic genius displayed in the *Ballades* is, he points out, really beautiful. He deprecates, however, the topical nature of the *lays*. The interest

of these, he infers, has passed away. To appreciate Villon's genius here one must have known the places, the things, and the men he speaks of, "la mémoire desquelz tant plus se passera tant moins se congoistra icelle industrie de ses lays dictz." Here Marot goes straight to the cardinal weakness of Villon's poetry. If a poet is to achieve immortality, he says, he must not choose as his subjects things which are "basses et particulieres." Villon, like so many painters of contemporary manners, in his zeal to be faithful to life errs from excess of detail. It is true that in the *Testament* he gives us a vivid and exact portrait of the milieu in which he lived. But, as Marot shows us, it is too topical, too fragmentary, to make the work one of "longue durée." Long before Boileau, Marot grasped the significance of the axiom:

Le vrai peut quelquefois n'être pas vraisemblable.

The realist, and Villon was essentially a realist, when he fails to satisfy the requirements of poetic art does so because he does not exercise the elective faculty of the true artist and present only the essential and universally true.

One passage of the Preface is, however, a striking example of the fallibility of literary taste. Reflecting the opinion of his period Marot says of Villon: "s'il eust esté nourry en la court des roys et des princes, là où les jugemens se amendent et les langages se polissent," he would have borne the palm among the poets of his day. Today we can afford to smile at the unconscious condescension of the courtier-poet, though there is an irritating smugness in the words of this successful laureate. When we read the *Dit de la naissance de Marie de Bourgogne* and *La Ballade contre les mesdisans de la France* and the ballade written in honor of Ambroise de Loredé, we have reason to be heartily grateful that royal hospitality, so far as François Villon is concerned, did not extend beyond the dungeons of the Châtelet prison.

And yet, in the main, Marot's estimate has received the *cachet* of succeeding generations of critics. Opinion in favor of Villon has gained in ardor with the passing of centuries. It is true that Ronsard and the Pléiade look askance at the *pauvre escollier*; but then, to be praised by the Pléiade is distinctly compromising. Regnier, Patru, Boileau—who I feel sure had never read Boileau and praises him at

second hand—Lafontaine, le P. de Cerceau, Daunon, and Villemain all add their quota to the rising tide of approbation. Bruneti re is a notable exception. Somewhere he remarks that to establish the value of a poet it is enough to apply the following touchstone to his work: "What did he say of nature, love and death?" Villon was not a poet of external nature but when he sings of the mysteries of love and death his verse vibrates with the melody of true poetry. And yet Bruneti re classes Villon as second rate and sweepingly asserts that French poetry begins with Ronsard!

Marot's summing up is roughly that the *Testaments* would not live and that posterity would remember Villon only by his *Ballades*. I fear that his verdict holds good today. It is true we witnessed toward the end of last century a Villon "cult," but that was only the ephemeral whim of a few *pr cieux*. The average reader, if he knows Villon at all, knows him only for his *Belle Heaulmi re* or his *Ballade des Pendus*.

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## THE GRAIL AND THE ENGLISH SIR PERCEVAL<sup>1</sup>

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### XIX

*Battles between fairy folk and Fomorians were common  
in Irish story*

The conclusion of the last page that the English *Sp* (*Sir Perceval*) is connected (through French and Welsh intermediaries) with certain Irish stories about Finn has nothing paradoxical about it. The story of a wonder-child who rescues his enslaved or enchanted people from giant foes was one of the most widely known of Irish mythical tales. It was, in fact, the central incident of the war of gods and giants in Irish pagan mythology. Irish saga-heroes, including Finn, borrowed attributes, talismans, and adventures from the earlier gods. Likewise, in Welsh, King Arthur undoubtedly fell heir to some of the paraphernalia of Welsh mythology. It is not an astounding thing to find a well-known mythical tale told in Ireland of Finn, and in Wales of an Arthurian knight.<sup>2</sup>

The next pages will examine the relationship of the theme of a wonder-child to the combat between gods and giants. First, it may be well to observe that battles between gods and giants play a large part in Irish fairy literature. Numerous Irish stories are founded on the idea of a combat between two races of other-world beings—the benevolent fairies or Tuatha Dé Danann<sup>3</sup> on the one hand, and the malevolent giants or Fomorians on the other. The occasion of these combats is invariably an attempt on the part of the fairies to extricate themselves from some kind of bondage or enchantment that has been fastened upon them by the giants.

<sup>1</sup> Continued from *Modern Philology*, XVI, 553-68; XVII, 361-82; XVIII, 201-25; 661-73.

<sup>2</sup> Points of contact between the Arthur and the Finn cycles were indicated by Nutt, *Voyage of Bran*, I, 140 f.; II, 25 f.; and *Revue Celtique*, XII (1891), 186. The important thing is that stories were transferred from gods to heroes. See John MacNeill, *Celtic Ireland* (1921), p. 51.

<sup>3</sup> Tuatha Dé Danann = T.D.D. in the following pages.

Well-known stories of this type<sup>1</sup> which belong to a period long before the rise of Arthurian romance are the *Serglige Conculaind* and the *Echtra Loegaire*. In the *Serglige Conculaind*,<sup>2</sup> Cuchulinn delivered fairyland from three tyrants: Senach Sfabortha, Eochaid Itíil, and Eogan Inbir. In the *Echtra Loegaire*, Loegaire saved fairyland from the oppression of Goll, son of Dolb.<sup>3</sup> A similar incident forms the concluding part of *The Exile of the Sons of Doel Dermait*, a tale which does not appear, like those just mentioned, in ancient MSS, but which is undoubtedly too old to be influenced in any way by Arthurian romance. Thurneysen, after noting the ancient language of this tale, says: "Erzählungen dieser Art, die gewiss auch bei den britannischen Kelten Parallelen hatten, sind wohl die Muster für die ähnlich gefügten Abenteuerromane der französischen Dichter wie Chrétien von Troyes gewesen."<sup>4</sup> This tale relates how Cuchulinn slew a giant, Eocho Glas, and released the fairies of the valley to whom the giant had done injury. The fairies bathed in the blood of the giant and were cured of their wounds.<sup>5</sup>

Among later Irish stories of the type, that called *Giolla an Fhiuga* is particularly instructive. It tells how Murough slew a giant who was oppressing Mag Mell.<sup>6</sup> That this type of plot was known in Wales before the rise of Arthurian romance is shown by the incident in the First Branch of the Mabinogi, where Pwyll rescues a fairy king, Arawn, from Hafgan.<sup>7</sup>

## XX

*An epitome of the "Battle of Moytura" is in LL, a MS of ca. 1160*

These stories are perhaps all offshoots from the central incident in an Irish battle of gods and giants in which a wonder-child, Lug, slew Balor, a one-eyed giant, and delivered the Tuatha Dé Danann

<sup>1</sup> A Märchen type of story about a giant who holds captive a lady also existed (see Kittredge, *A Study of Gawain and the Green Knight*, p. 232), and was often confused with the type of plot mentioned above.

<sup>2</sup> See (Harvard) *Studies and Notes*, VIII, 34 f.

<sup>3</sup> See *Modern Philology*, XIII, 731 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Die irische Helden- und Königsage* (1921), p. 468.

<sup>5</sup> Windisch *Irische Texte*, II, 1, 184, 206.

<sup>6</sup> See (Harvard) *Studies and Notes*, VIII, 101-13.

<sup>7</sup> Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, I (1913), 88 f.

from bondage.<sup>1</sup> This Irish tale of the battle of gods and giants which we are about to examine does not exist in any Märchen-like or primitive form, but only as transcribed by Christian Irish annalists. Although the earliest Christian scribes, who, for example, wrote down the stories of the Ulster Cycle, showed a remarkable tolerance of heathen ideas, yet they were succeeded by scribes of the tenth and eleventh centuries whose methods were to eliminate the marvelous and to record mythological tales as a part of the supposed history of Ireland.<sup>2</sup> The only account of the battle of gods and giants that exists in an ancient MS is such a thoroughly euhemerized epitome. It appears in a version of the so-called "Book of Conquests" (*Leabhar Gabhála = LG*) which is contained in *LL*, and which was therefore written down about 1160.<sup>3</sup>

After mentioning the first battle of Moytura<sup>4</sup> between the Tuatha Dé Danann and the Fir Bolg, the epitome speaks at once of the Stone of Destiny: "It was the Tuatha Dé Danann brought with them the great Fál, i.e., the Stone of Knowledge which was in Tara, from which Ireland is called the Plain of Fál. He under whom it would cry out was the King of Ireland." It did not cry out after the time of Cuchulinn "except under Conn alone. Its heart then burst out of it from Tara unto Tailtu, so that is the heart of Fál. Really it was not that [i.e., Conn's approach] which caused it, but Christ being born that broke the power of the idols."<sup>5</sup> The king of the Tuatha Dé

<sup>1</sup> See a remark of the poet Yeats: "The shadow of battle was over all Celtic mythology, for the gods established themselves in battle against the Fomor or powers of darkness." "Prisoners of the Gods," *Nineteenth Century*, XLIII (1898), 104; and compare Ehrlmann, *P. und B. Beiträge*, XXX (1905), 18 f.

<sup>2</sup> See John MacNeill, *Celtic Ireland*, pp. 38 f.; Westropp, *Proceedings of RIA*, XXXIV (1918), 138, 169.

<sup>3</sup> On the date of *LL* see L. Gwynn, *Eriu*, VIII (1916), 114; Thurneysen, *Die irische Helden- und Königeage* (1921), pp. 33 f.

<sup>4</sup> D'Arbois, *Cours*, V, 397-401, prints a translation of this epitome from *LL*, 8b50-9b17. Because the earliest mention of two battles of Moytura is in *Flann of Monaster*, A.D. 1050, d'Arbois argues that there was originally but one battle. It is true that the text called "The First Battle of Moytura" (printed and translated by J. Fraser, *Eriu*, VIII, 1915) is a confused version of the second battle. There is nothing, however, to prove that two battles were not in the original tradition, and reasons will appear for thinking that this was the case. Fir Bolg were probably identical with Fomorians. See Rhys, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, "The Coligny Calendar" (1910), p. 251; [Fir Bolg in the Battle of Moytura] "I take to have been one of the names of the Fomori."

<sup>5</sup> Baudis' translation from *LL*, *Eriu*, VIII (1917), 106. This is the only trace of the supernatural which the *LL* epitome preserves. Perhaps the Lia Fáil, as the most famous of Irish heathen talismans, was too well known to be omitted. The scribe turns it to edification by his remark about the birth of Christ.

Danann was Nuadu Airgetlam (silver-hand), who, because his hand was cut off in the first battle of Moytura, was deprived of the kingship. After the first battle, Bress resigned for seven years. [As Bress is not connected with the T.D.D., it is evident that he was a usurper.]

At the end of seven years a silver hand was made for Nuadu, and he resumed the kingship, which he held for twenty years. Queen Tailiu, whose first husband had been slain in the first battle, and whose second husband was Eocho of the T.D.D., withdrew to the forest of Cuan where she cleared and planted ground and where she brought up Lug. Lug was of mixed descent. His father Cian was of the T.D.D., but his mother Ethne was daughter of Balor the Fomorian. Lug afterward established in honor of his foster-mother the games of Tailiu which are held every year at Lugnasad (August 1).

In the second battle of Moytura, Nuada was killed by Balor. The victory, however, came to the T.D.D., for Lug "with a stone from his sling killed Balor,"<sup>1</sup> and ruled over Ireland for forty years. "Between the two battles of Moytura twenty-seven years intervened."

Anybody familiar with folk tales will perhaps grant at once that the story summarized above must be pseudo-history which has been concocted out of a mythological tale about a wonder-child.<sup>2</sup> Lug, the hero, was brought up by a foster-mother in a forest. For twenty-seven years between the two battles the T.D.D. were in bondage, and their king Nuadu was wounded. Lug put an end to this bondage by killing Balor just as Perceval killed the Red Knight.

#### XXI

*The "Battle of Moytura" was fought between fairy folk and Fomorians*

We are not obliged, however, without more proof to accept this brief annalistic account as evidence for a background of mythological

<sup>1</sup> *LL*, RIA facsimile, 957 "doroch lais arsnath cocloic assa tabaill." "Balor" is written over the line, but the meaning is in any case clear.

<sup>2</sup> For example, H. Lessman, *Die Kyrossage in Europa* (1906), pp. 12-18, sees in this *LL* epitome the same formula as in the story of Cyrus, of Romulus, of Hamlet, etc. On the formula idea see *Mitra*, I (1914), 162-75; Nutt, "Aryan Expulsion and Return Formula," *Folk-Lore Record*, IV (1881); Woods, *PMLA*, XXVII (1912), 524-67; Hartland, *Legend of Perseus*; Panzer, *Studien z. Germ. Sagengeschichte*.

story. Fortunately, we have an Irish text preserved in a fifteenth-century manuscript which must represent (allowing for a few interpolations) pretty nearly what the annalist who wrote the euhemerized account in *LL* had before him. This text is the *Cath Maige Turedh* (*CMT*), or "The Second Battle of Moytura." Good reasons exist for thinking that *CMT* was known substantially in its present form before 1100; some of which are: that the language, allowing for later spelling, and for a Norse loan-word or two,<sup>1</sup> is of the older period; that *Cormac's Glossary* [s.v. *cernine*, *nescoil*] quotes from a text exactly like ours; and that the annalistic author of the epitome in *LL* seems to be summarizing our *CMT*,<sup>2</sup> with which he agrees except in three episodes omitted in the following summary:<sup>3</sup>

*CMT* begins by mentioning not merely the *Lia Fáil* but the other well-known "jewels of the *Tuatha Dé Danann*": the ever victorious spear of *Lug*, the irresistible sword of *Nuadu*, and the unfailing cauldron of the *Dagda*.<sup>4</sup> It is no accident surely that the story begins in this way. The action depends upon talismans. Nor is it chance that the next thing told of is the birth of *Lug* "the wonder-child" (*an gein mbhuada*). Both of these statements are made like notes

<sup>1</sup> Like *scil dei*, § 28. See Stokes, *Revue Celtique*, XII, 52.

<sup>2</sup> Van Hamel, *Zt. f. Celt. Phil.*, X (1914), 191-92: "The redactor of X" (a version of *LG* which was complete about the year 1000) "knew *CMT* in an older and better version and selected several traits from it." "The expressions and phrases used in *LG* are in so many respects the same as in *CMT* that this section of *LG* must be based upon the tale just mentioned. The contrary could not be the case, *CMT* giving a much more circumstantial account of the events." Van Hamel's view is that mythical giants called Fomorians were transformed into supposedly historical invaders of Ireland. Pokorny has more recently urged (*Zt. f. Celt. Phil.*, XI [1917], 198 f.) that real historical invaders of Ireland have been distorted by the influence of mythological tales until they have lost their human characteristics. Both scholars agree that a Märchen about a battle between demigods and giants lies back of any real history that may exist in this portion of *LG*. Thurneysen, *Die irische Helden- und Königsage*, p. 112, implies that *CMT* was composed before the year 1000.

<sup>3</sup> From the edition and translation by Stokes, *Revue Celtique*, XII (1891). D'Arbois, *Cycle Mythologique, Cours*, V, 394, rejects three passages of *CMT* as later additions: (1) the account of the four cities whence the T.D.D. came, §§ 2-7; (2) the episode of Cridenbel, §§ 26-32; (3) the episode of Nuadu's regaining his cut-off hand, §§ 33-35.

<sup>4</sup> That part of this passage that names the four cities from which the four talismans were brought is thought by d'Arbois to be an interpolation made after the year 1000, but I think that we should believe that all four talismans were originally mentioned here, and that because of his dislike of anything miraculous the scribe of the *LG* epitome omitted spear, sword, and cauldron. The "Four Jewels" surely go back to Irish paganism, and were not a recent borrowing from outside sources, or an invention of Christian Irish scribes. For early references to these talismans see my paper in the *Kittredge Anniversary Papers*, p. 236.

for the memory, and no hint is given of how they are connected with the action.<sup>1</sup>

During an interval of twenty-seven years from the first to the second battle of Moytura, the T.D.D. were forced to pay tribute to the Fomorians, and their chieftains were reduced to manual labor: Ogma carried firewood, the Dagda dug trenches (§§ 10-14) [slavery or enchantment by giants].<sup>2</sup> At the end of that time the Fomorians prepared to attack. "Never came to Ireland a host more horrible or more fearful" (§ 51) [i.e., one-eyed giants]. Nuadu Airgetlam [cf. King Arthur] was holding "a mighty feast at Tara." A "young and fair warrior" [cf. "Finn" and "faire child," *Modern Philology*, XVIII, 214] gained admission to this feast by a recital of his powers, and was called Samildanach, "Summer with many gifts."<sup>3</sup> He was Lug Lamfada, who has been brought up by Tallan.<sup>4</sup> Lug sat down boldly in the sage's seat and tossed back a great flagstone that Ogma had hurled out as a challenge. [§§ 71-72. This is like the hero's feats of arms at the house of his uncle in *Peredur* and in *Perceval*. The perilous seat that tested the grail-seeker should be compared.] "Now Nuadu when he beheld the warrior's many powers considered whether he [Lug] could put away from them the bondage which they

<sup>1</sup> The four talismans are not again referred to, although the victory is made to depend upon a well of healing, and upon objects brought to Lug by Brion. The fact is, not merely that *CMT* has been a great deal rationalized and worked over, but, that it is written in a cryptic fashion which was not really cryptic to an Irish story-teller. Many Irish tales read like notes meant to be filled out from memory. Doubtless the Irish hearers understood how the talismans were used.

<sup>2</sup> Both battles are told from the point of view of the T.D.D. and are represented as victories, first over the Fir Bolg, and second over the Fomorians. Since, however, after the first battle, the T.D.D. were enslaved, it was clearly in fact a defeat.

<sup>3</sup> The parallel which I draw between Lug and *Perceval* does not much depend upon how we translate Samildanach. The translation of Samildanach given above is that set forth by J. Loth, *Revue Archéologique*, XXIV, 211. Loth also calls attention to the confused character of *CMT*, and points out by analogy of other tales that Lug ought at first to call himself simply Samildanach, and keep his true name concealed. The reader will remember that in the grail romances the hero is at first called "beau fils," "fair child." (*Modern Philology*, XVIII, 206-8.)

<sup>4</sup> In the epitome (§§ 53-55) she was called Taitliu. The importance given to her, and the yearly festival in her honor, are noteworthy. She corresponds to the foster-mother (*mumme*) that brought up Cuchulinn and Finn; see *Modern Philology*, XVIII, 671-72. Lug was, no doubt, called "Lamfada," or "Lamfota," "long-armed," because he slew Balor with a slingstone. When, as the story was adapted to later customs, the sling gave way to the javelin, the hero would naturally be called "long-spearred" rather than "long-armed." This is the way in which we should explain "*Peredur paladyr-hir*," "P. of the long lance," in the Welsh *Peredur* (ed., Meyer [1887], § 36, l. 3.); cf. *Perceval* "the irresistible."

suffered from the Fomorians" [cf. Conn's statement to Finn, *Modern Philology*, XVIII, 206; and Arthur's remark, "Unless it were Perceval's son, the books say he must avenge," etc., *Modern Philology*, XVIII, 669], and so he gave the king's seat to Lug for thirteen days (§ 74). The three gods of Danu (*tri Deo Danonn*, *CMT*, § 83) brought Lug "the wherewithal for battle" (*gressa an cathae*).<sup>1</sup>

In the battle the T.D.D. got help from a well of healing that restored their dead to life (§ 123), and from the unerring spears made by Goibniu (§§ 97, 124). Balor killed Nuadu Airgetlam, but was later slain by Lug. "An evil eye had Balor." "That eye was never opened save only on a battlefield. . . ." If an army looked at that eye, though they were many thousands in number, they could not resist (§ 133). [Cf. the magical destructive powers of the goblin in the Finn story (*Modern Philology*, XVIII, 206), and of the Red Knight (in *Sp*, *ibid.*, 208)]. "Then Lug cast a sling stone at (Balor) which carried the eye through his head" (§ 135). [Cf. Perceval's slaying the Red Knight, *ibid.*]

After the Fomorians had been defeated in the battle, one of their leaders, Loch, obtained quarter for himself by promising "to ward off from Ireland plundering by the Fomorians forever." [This shows that the Fomorians were plundering demons like Culdub, or like the Red Knight in *Sp*, or like the goblin. See *Modern Philology*, XVIII, 201 f.] Then Lug got the Fomorian, Bres, into his power, and would not release him until he promised to grant, first, that "the kine of Erin shall always be in milk"; second, that the men of Ireland shall have "a harvest of grain in every quarter of the year"; and, third, that they should know the right day, namely, Tuesday, for plowing, for casting seed, and for reaping (§§ 149-60). [This shows that it is an enchantment that has been fastened upon the T.D.D., rather than mere bondage; cf. "The Enchantment of Britain." An euhemerizer has changed it to bondage.]<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The names of these three were Brion, Iuchar, and Iucharba. Cf. a poem by Flann Manistrech in *LL*. 11a28 and 11b2; also *LL*. 30d; "Tri De Donand .i. tri meic Bressa meic El(athan) .i. Brian, Iuchar, ocus Iucharba." See Thurneysen, *Zt. f. Celt. Phil.*, XII, 241. This triad amounted to three different manifestations of one semidivine character; "Brion," see K. Meyer, *Eriu*, IV, 68. In later Irish story they are called "the children of Tuirenn."

<sup>2</sup> No radical difference of nature existed between the T.D.D. and the Fomorians. For the sake of clearness I have called the former "fairies," and the latter "giants," but at least one of the T.D.D. (the *Dagda*, § 89) was of giant size. A member of one of

By comparing the *LL* epitome with *CMT* we see that Lug is a wonder-child, who has been brought up in a forest by a foster-mother,<sup>1</sup> and who suddenly appears when a fair youth at the court of a king at a feast where he is welcomed. By his marvelous skill and weapons he slays a supernaturally powerful tyrant and delivers the land from enchantment. This is, as has been shown previously, the main thread of *Sp.*<sup>2</sup>

Both *CMT* and the *LL* epitome have been euhemerized to a greater or less extent. The Finn story and the English *Sp* do not come from written documents like *CMT* and the *LL* epitome, but from the living folk tales which they imperfectly represent. Without doubt a Märchen (in which the characters were probably unnamed) about a battle between fairies and giants existed in Ireland from very early times. A mythological tale also existed in which the wonder-child, Lug, and the other chief characters had names. *CMT* and the *LL* epitome are the work of rather erudite and sophisticated scribes who wrote down not folk tales, but such extracted outlines as they could regard as history, or at least as rational narrative. The Märchen and the mythological tale are far older than the twelfth-century Irish writers. The Märchen and the mythologic tale have lived right on in oral tradition to the present day, and have progressively influenced written documents. Late middle Irish and even modern versions may explain motives and incidents which are absent or merely hinted at in the ancient Irish sagas. Modern Irish versions (though to be used with caution) may give the neces-

these hostile clans might marry a member of the other, as was the case with the parents of Bres and of Lug. Such marriages of gods and giants are familiar in other mythologies. In view of the essential parity of the two races as representatives of the higher and the lower mythology, it is not surprising to find both on occasion exerting control over the forces of life and increase. The Fomorian powers were probably destructive; they destroyed the cattle and the seed. In another place we learn that the T.D.D. had power over the water: "The T.D.D. dried up the twelve chief lakes of Ireland so that the Fomorians might suffer thirst," § 79. See Rhŷs, *British Academy* (1910), pp. 223-24.

<sup>1</sup> Compare the foster-mother in the Finn stories. In *Sp.*, of course, Acheflour is the real mother (*Modern Philology*, XVIII, 213).

<sup>2</sup> At the end *CMT* diverges from the Finn stories and from *Sp.* King Nuadu, unlike King Conn or King Arthur, is killed by his giant foe. Lug, unlike Finn and Perceval, does not win the love of a fairy lady. (There was a tradition that Lug was wedded after the battle of Moytura, Rhŷs, *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 414-15; *British Academy* [1910], p. 231). Probably the author of *CMT* kept from his folk-tale source (which we suppose to be the source of the Finn story and of *Sp*) solely those features which he could represent as historical, and hence altered the story at the end.

sary links, and sometimes a modern Irishman who is conversant with fairy lore<sup>1</sup> can give the key to unlock the motivation of old sagas. So cautious a scholar as Thurneysen writes of Irish literature: "Dem 13. bis 14. Jahrhundert gehört dann eine neue Stilrichtung an die . . . ältere Sagen vielfach entschieden dem Märchen annähert, mit dem sie ja freilich seit jeher im Austausch gestanden haben" (*Königsage*, p. 669). Thurneysen gives as an example of this "The Death of the Sons of Uisnech," and (on pp. 73, 327) associates this with the *Oided Chloinne Tuirenn* (*OCT*) that deals with Lug and his talismans.

## XXII

*The "Children of Tuirenn" throws light on the battle of  
fairies and Fomorians*

Our next task is to examine this text *OCT*, which is called in English "The Fate of the Children of Tuirenn."<sup>2</sup> *OCT* tells us explicitly that Lug was a destined hero. Ceithlionn, Balor's wife, says, "He is daughter's son to you and me; and it is prophesied that when he shall come we shall never again have power in Erin."<sup>3</sup> Recently collected folk-tale versions<sup>4</sup> confirm this and supply another point, which because it explains the action, and because it occurs in similar stories, probably belonged to the underlying Märchen-formula. Balor knows that it is his fate to be slain by his daughter's son.<sup>5</sup> He therefore shut her up in a tower. Cian, however, contrived to visit her, and she bore a son, Lug. Balor gave the boy to servants to drown,<sup>6</sup> but the lad escaped and was brought up by a foster-mother.

<sup>1</sup> Compare the illuminating way in which Professor Douglas Hyde restores the original plot of "Giolla an Fhiuiga" in *Irish Texts Society*, I, viii.

<sup>2</sup> Printed and translated by O'Curry, *Atlantis*, IV (1863), 158 f. A free translation is in Joyce, *Old Celtic Romances*, pp. 37 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Atlantis*, IV, 166.

<sup>4</sup> The following modern versions are known to me: O'Donovan, *Annals of the Four Masters* (1851), I, 18, footnote (from Donegal); Larminie, *West-Irish Folk-Tales* (1893), pp. 1-9 (from Achill); Curtin, *Hero Tales of Ireland* (1894), pp. 1-34 (Kerry); pp. 283-395 (Donegal); pp. 296-311 (Connemara); Dr. F. N. Robinson kindly tells me of another version in Seosamh Laolde, *Cruach Chonaill* (1904), pp. 63-65 (Donegal).

<sup>5</sup> See *Modern Philology*, XVIII, 225, and cf. Vendryes, *Revue Celtique*, XXXVIII (1921), 238. The giants know and fear the destiny of the hero. That is why he is brought up secretly, and without name.

<sup>6</sup> That an attempt at drowning may be a rationalization of a boy's being carried away by fairies under the water, I have shown in *Modern Philology*, XVIII, 666. O'Donovan's version says explicitly: "The child that had fallen into the harbor, though he apparently sunk to the bottom, was invisibly carried off by the banshee." Her name was "Biroge of the Mountain," and she gave the boy to his father's brother, Gavida the Smith, to bring up [she is a kind of foster-mother].

Like many monsters Balor could be killed only in a particular way. "No man can kill me," said Balor, "but the son of my daughter. She has no son, and if she had, he could kill me only with the red spear made by Gaivnin Gow, and it cast into my eye the moment I raise the last shield from it, when I am standing on Muin Duv (Black Back) to burn Erin."<sup>1</sup> Balor's eye burned whatever it looked at. A druid says, "Balor will come to burn up Erin. He will stand on Muin Duv at daybreak. He will raise all the shields from his eye; and unless a spear made by Gaivnin Gow is hurled into his eye by his grandson that instant, he will have all Erin in flames."<sup>2</sup>

*OCT* makes very plain that Lug is the kind of hero who depends upon magic gifts or talismans. At his first coming we are told that Lug rode on Manannán's steed Aonbharr, which traveled by sea as well as by land; he wore Manannán's lorica which protected the wearer from wounds, and his breast piece through which no weapon could pierce; he carried Manannán's sword Freagarthach (The Retaliator) which took away the strength of those opposed to it in battle.<sup>3</sup> We read also that he had Manannán's boat Seuabtuinné (The Wave-Sweeper) which accommodated any number, and moved at a word of command (*op. cit.*, p. 192). He had been brought up by the elf king, Manannán, for Manannán's sons are his foster-brothers (p. 163). That he was a fair youth (like Finn and Perceval) is insisted on, "as bright as the sun on a dry summer's day . . . . was his face" (p. 163); "his countenance had the radiance of the sun" (p. 177).

*OCT* exists in no MS older than the eighteenth century.<sup>4</sup> However, a tolerably complete outline of it may be found in a poem called "Turill Bicrenn and his Sons" which arose according to Thurneysen as early as 1100.<sup>5</sup> This poem of 1100 reads like a set of notes intended

<sup>1</sup> Curtin, *op. cit.*, p. 304. On the general idea cf. Lessman, "Die umständliche Tötung," *Mitra*, I (1914), 161. It is pretty clear that Balor could be killed only by the Spear of Lug made by Goibniu, which is later called the Luin. This Spear is the origin, as I have sought to show in my paper "The Bleeding Lance," *PMLA* (1910), XVIII, of the Bleeding Lance of the grail castle.

<sup>2</sup> Curtin, p. 311, cf. pp. 293, 313. From the fiery power of Balor's eye could easily have developed the tale of the goblin (see *Modern Philology*, XVIII, 206) who burnt Tara with fire, and who was slain by Finn.

<sup>3</sup> *Atlantis*, IV, 162-63.

<sup>4</sup> Thurneysen somewhat hesitatingly assigns the composition of *OCT* to the fourteenth century, *Königsage*, p. 73.

<sup>5</sup> Thurneysen, *Zt. f. Celt. Phil.*, XII (1918), 243.

to recall the full tale which we know only in the later *OCT*. The ancient poem is much briefer and in some points *OCT* diverges from it.

In the significant matter of the talismans these divergences can be shown by summarizing in parallel columns the lists of objects sought:

## POEM OF 1100

1. Two immortal horses.
2. The unerring spear of Assals, that returns to its owner.
3. A pig's skin that cures wounds.
4. Six never failing pigs.
5. A dog of the Smith of Hiruaid that turns water into wine.
6. The dog of Luchrai Lia.
7. The apples of the apple tree of Findchoire.

*OCT*

1. Three apples from the Garden of Hisbeirne (Hesperides).
2. The pig's skin of Tuis that heals wounds.
3. The blazing spear of Pisear.
4. The steeds and chariot of Dobar.
5. Seven never failing pigs.
6. The dog (called "Failinis") of the King of Ioruaidhe.
7. The cooking spit of the women of the island Fianchaire.

In the foregoing lists the cauldron of the Dagda is not mentioned, but more than half of the objects sought are talismans of plenty or healing, and their properties correspond more or less to those of a fairy goblet of plenty. It is evident that a quest for talismans of plenty (like the Dagda's cauldron, and like the grail) is an integral part of the story. The island of Findchoire is mentioned last, as if it were the most dangerous of the quests. According to the poem of 1100, the talismans here were apples: "Seek the apple tree of most beautiful luster which is at Findchoire (the white whirlpool); it is concealed out there."

A prose account, which is prefixed to the poem and is dated by Thurneysen not much later than the poem, certainly in the twelfth century, gives more detail: "The discovery of the Island of Caire Ceinnfinn (white-headed whirlpool) which lies concealed between Ireland and Scotland, and the fruit of the apple tree that is beneath the sea on this island."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 246.

*OCT* agrees with these older accounts in the name of the island<sup>1</sup> and its location beneath the sea. However, it changes the talisman sought from apples to a cooking spit.<sup>2</sup>

Brian put on his water dress . . . and he made a water leap; and it is said that he was for a fortnight walking in the salt water seeking the island of Fianchaire. . . . He found in it but a troop of women engaged at embroidery; and they had by them the cooking spit (that he sought).<sup>3</sup>

This island of Fianchaire is perhaps identical with the Welsh Afallach (Isle of Apples?) and is a rude form of the Castle of Maidens which is so often mentioned in grail romances. It is not difficult to recover from these fragmentary episodes of *OCT* the main outlines of a lost tale in which Brion was chief quester<sup>4</sup> after talismans (which included talismans of plenty) to be used in the battle of Moytura.

The story of Lug and Balor (in *CMT*) agrees in seven main points with our reconstructed plot of *Sp.* In both the fairies have been defeated by the giants, their king (Nuadu, Arthur) wounded or enfeebled, and their land bewitched. In both a youthful hero (Lug, Perceval) has been brought up in seclusion by a mother or a foster-mother. In both he is a destined hero, and his name is kept secret for fear [this is somewhat obscured in both versions] of his being slain in childhood. In both he is called at first by some epithet implying light ("Summer-of-many-gifts," "Faire Childe"). In both he comes unexpectedly to the court of the king and gains attention by his boldness. In both the king asks his help (see *Sp.* vss. 646f.). In both he slays a terrible foe (Balor, the Red Knight) by

<sup>1</sup> *Atlantis*, IV, 219. *Findchoire*, or *Fian-Chaire* equals *Caire finn*. In this whirlpool or cauldron beneath the sea we may see, I think, a rude form of the revolving other-world castle, the turning castle of the grail.

<sup>2</sup> The "Apples of the Hesperides" in *OCT* are a later insertion. Whoever put them in probably changed the apples of Fianchaire to a cooking-spit to avoid duplication. Never failing apples are a good ancient characteristic of the Irish fairy land. See "The Adventures of Connla," (Harvard) *Studies and Notes*, VIII, 29.

<sup>3</sup> This whirlpool or cauldron (*caire*) is like the Coire Breccan which was also situated between Ireland and Scotland, more exactly between Ballycastle and the island of Rathlin. See the *Dindshenchas*, *Revue Celtique*, XVI, 157-58; Cormac's Glossary (*Anecdota*, IV), § 323; Reeves, *Life of St. Columba* (1857), pp. 262-64. The *Vita Columbae* calls it "Charybdis Breccan," Bk. I, chap. v; cf. Reeves' note on the passage.

A city of maidens beneath the sea on the way to Lochlann is told of in the *Dindshenchas*, *Revue Celtique*, XV, 295; Metrical *Dindshenchas*, ed., Gwynn, R.I.A., *Todd Lecture Series*, X (1913), Pt. III, p. 191. For a Christianization of this as a nunnery of Bright beneath the sea see *Lib. Hym.*, II, 191; *Fel. Oen.*, p. 64 (*Bradshaw Soc.*), cf. *ZCP*, III, 243; Plummer, *Vitae*, I, cxxvii, cxlix.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Yeats, *Ideas of Good and Evil* (1908), p. 227, "The tale of the sons of Tuireann [*OCT*], with its unintelligible mysteries [is] an old grail quest as I think."

a single cast of a missile (sling-stone, javelin) that hits the enemy in the eye. Obviously, proof that *Sp* conforms to the formula of battle between fairies and giants, which is also the formula of the Lug-Balor story, is overwhelming.

Having satisfied ourselves that *Sp* and the Lug-Balor story pursue the same formula, other possible points of contact between these stories are worth noting. *Sp* tells of Maidenland, and *OCT* (not *CMT*) mentions a strange land inhabited by women only. This parallel may lack significance, however, because Brion's visit to the Land of Women is for a different purpose from Perceval's. Brion goes in search for a talisman; Perceval to rescue the land from attack.

Another parallel lies in a possible suggestion in *Sp* that the Red Knight was one-eyed:

At þe kniȝte lete he flee 690  
Smote hym in at þe ee  
And outh at þe nakke.

To be sure there is nothing unusual about the expression "in at the eye."<sup>1</sup> One could hardly expect the author to write "in at one of his eyes." Yet the words are precisely those that would appear if the passage were a survival of a popular tale in which the Red Knight (like the Fomorians) had but one eye. Among Perceval's foes in *Sp* are Gollerotherame and his giant brother. "Goll" in Irish meant "blind" or "one-eyed," and in *CMT*<sup>2</sup> is the name of a Fomorian.

Finally, it may be observed that both in *OCT* and *Sp* the whole company of people are enchanters and magicians.

On the whole then, except for possible divergence at the end, the evidence shows that *Sp* (and of course the allied Finn stories) conforms to the Märchen formula of a war between gods and giants, in which victory depended upon talismans. We have traced this formula in several Irish documents (*CMT*, *OCT*) in which the characters were evidently in origin all supernatural beings combatting with marvelous weapons.

<sup>1</sup> A similar expression occurs in Chrétien's *C*, ed., Baist, vss. 1092, 4092; also *Parsival*, 155. 9; and *Peregrin*, ed., Meyer, § 11, l. 14; cf. Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, II, 57.

<sup>2</sup> CMT, 128, see *Modern Philology*, XVIII, 220, n. 1.

## XXIII

*Sir Perceval follows the formula of the "Battle of Moytura,"  
which proves that the gold cup in it was a  
talisman of plenty*

What conclusion shall we draw from the observed fact that *Sp* and the Irish story (imperfectly preserved in *CMT* and *OCT*) conform except possibly at the end to the same formula? Since all of the objects in *CMT* and *OCT* are talismans, we may conclude not only that *Sp* is at bottom a tale of strife between fairies and giants, and all the characters magicians and enchanters, but that all of the objects mentioned in *Sp* must originally, like those in *CMT*, have been talismans.

On an earlier page<sup>1</sup> it has been shown that this is plainly the case with (1) the "Scottes spear" (spear of Lug); (2) the ring of the Damsel of the Hall, and (3) the armor of the Red Knight. It is now, I hope, evident that a fourth talisman was King Arthur's golden cup that was stolen by the Red Knight. This cup must have been originally a talisman of plenty and prosperity, like the Dagda's cauldron, like most of the objects sought in *OCT*, and like the grail.

That nobody has pointed out the talismanic powers of this gold cup in *Sp* is not surprising because they have been almost obliterated. In *Sp* this cup is not described as a talisman at all. It is simply a "coupe of golde bryghte" (648), although considerable prominence is given to it in the story because Perceval's challenge to the Red Knight is for no other purpose than to recover this cup and return it to King Arthur:

Bot if þou brynge þe coupe agayne,  
With my dart þou sall be slayne.

670

In *Sp* as it stands, this cup is not even particularized:

Fyf(ten)e<sup>2</sup> ȝeres hase he þus gane 633  
And my coupes fro me tane  
And my gude knyghte slayne,  
Men calde sir Percyvell;  
Sythen taken hase he three,  
And ay awaye will he bee,  
Or I may harnayse me,  
In felde hym to felle. 640

<sup>1</sup> *Modern Philology*, XVIII, 669.

<sup>2</sup> Holthausen's emendation for MS "fyve." See his note, p. 96.

From these somewhat ambiguous lines it appears that the Red Knight has stolen three such cups during fifteen years: "Sythen taken hase he three" (cups) 637. The author of *Sp* regarded the royal cup as valuable, because made of gold, and significant because of its personal use by the king, but he attached to the object no talismanic powers. Nevertheless, evidence that originally this cup possessed talismanic power is not hard to find.

King Arthur was bitterly distressed when the Red Knight carried off the golden cup:

The sorowe, þat þe kynge hade, 627  
Mighte no tongue tell.

The king promised to make Perceval a knight, so soon as he should bring back the cup:

A knyghte shall I make the,  
For-thi þou wille bryng mee  
The coupe of golde bryghte. 646

After Perceval slew the Red Knight, he gave the gold cup to Sir Gawayne, with an injunction to carry it back to King Arthur (817). The romance does not relate Gawayne's return. Gawayne has not reached the court in verses 1062-68, for King Arthur is here lying in "care-bed":

His wo es wansome to wreke, 1065  
His hert es bownn for to breke,  
For he wend never to speke  
With Pereyvell no mare.

If Gawayne had returned before this, bringing back the cup, and the news of Perceval's slaying the Red Knight, King Arthur would not have been in such despair about the youth. But Gawayne must have arrived before verse 1105, because here we are told that King Arthur set out for Mayden-lande in company with Ewayne, Gawayne, and Kay (the names of the three knights who went with Arthur are given in verses 1390-93). The effect of the return of the cup upon King Arthur was marvelous. Before it came he could not stand on his feet. He read the letters from Mayden-lande while lying abed. He declared that he was "too sick" to ride far to fight in the field (1080). He told the messenger:

In my londe wot I no lordyng, 1087  
Es worthy to be a knyghte.

Some verses which related Gawayne's return with the gold cup must have dropped out before verse 1105.

Immediately King Arthur commanded

Horse and armes for to bryng. 1106

The king and three knights, including Gawayne, took horses and arms and set forth eagerly:

þay were a-ferde full sare, 1114  
Ere þay come whare he ware,  
þe childe wolde be slayne.

Not a word do we ever hear again of King Arthur feeling "sick and sore," or of the unworthiness of his knights.

What has happened in sixteen lines to transform an invalid king, surrounded by unworthy knights, into brave and ready warriors? Evidently Gawayne's return with the golden cup and the news of the Red Knight's death has brought about a change. This event, though definitely implied, is nowhere mentioned in our text. The author of *Sp* must have had before him a story defective at this point; probably because his more remote original, like many extant Welsh and Irish fairy tales, passed over an important step in the plot with a mere hint, comprehensible to Celtic hearers who were versed in fairy lore, but not grasped by French or English narrators.

The author of *Sp* tries to imply that Arthur's illness was caused by his sorrow at the departure of Perceval, whom he never expected to speak to again (see 1066-68). This explanation comes in but lamely; moreover, it does not in the least account for the weakness of all Arthur's knights. Neither King Arthur nor any of his knights have been able to resist the Red Knight for fifteen years (554). The author of *Sp* represents Arthur's long ill-success as due to his inability to overtake the Red Knight (638-40). In an earlier form of the story, no doubt, the Red Knight's armor protected him, by making him either invulnerable or invisible, and for fifteen years Arthur's kingdom has been under an enchantment, doubtless the "Enchantment of Britain," of which one reads elsewhere. The weakness of Arthur is a part of the general enchantment. Before the story was rationalized Arthur and his knights were under a spell. They were in a death-in-life condition, and their land laid waste, because of their

loss of the golden cup, which by its talismanic powers of plenty kept the king and his knights in prosperity and their land in fruitfulness. The moment that Gawayne brought the cup, and with it the news of the death of the Red Knight, Arthur was restored to health and vigor.

Perceval was not dubbed a knight till he had shown his mettle by slaying most of Lufamour's adversaries, and by breaking lances with Sir Gawayne. Even then King Arthur would not knight him till he had "won his shoes upon the Sowdan" (1595-96). He was actually knighted, however, and his name formally given just before he rode against Gollerotherame:

Sir Percevell the Galayse  
pay called hym in kythe.

1643

Arthur, Gawayne, Ewayne, and Kay, with Lufamour and others, watched the combat and encouraged Perceval to slay the Sowdan.

This shows that the reason given for Arthur's being "sick and sore" and for his journey in search of Perceval, namely, that he was "afraid that Perceval would be killed,"<sup>1</sup> cannot be original. Arthur afforded no help when he arrived, but deliberately sent the youthful Perceval into single combat with Gollerotherame. The statement that Arthur's worry about young Perceval caused his illness is obviously a blunder occasioned by forgetting the marvelous power of the gold cup, which determined the action of the plot.

The gold cup must have been at first the most important of the four talismans. The whole action centered round it. When it was gone, Arthur and his land were enchanted; when Perceval recovered it, he achieved his greatest quest. The gold cup in *Sp* is an undeveloped grail.

We have observed that *Sp* follows the formula of the battle of gods and giants in Irish mythology, and we have come to think that it rests in some way on the story of Lug and Balor, and that Perceval has taken the place earlier occupied by Lug, the child of light and the bringer of victory. This view is in line with what on general principles we should expect. The battle of gods and giants must have been the most striking story in Celtic mythology. *Sp*

<sup>1</sup> Some confusion in motivation here may be deep seated in the folk tale. In *CMT*, § 95, we read that the T.D.D. tried to prevent Lug from entering the battle of Moytura lest he should be slain, *Revue Celtique*, XII, 88.

carries with it, as we shall come to see, the origins of the grail, which is certainly the most noteworthy element in the Arthurian complex. To find that the battle of gods and giants supplied the root idea of the grail and the enchantments of Britain is no paradox.

Our view enables us to carry out the brilliant suggestion of the late Alfred Nutt. He declared that the talismans of the grail castle were derived from the "four jewels" of the T.D.D.<sup>1</sup> We now see that the grail story not only borrowed the talismans, but the grail plot carried over the battle of the T.D.D. and the Fomorians. Perceval succeeded to the place of Lug and appropriated not only his talismans, but a considerable part of his marvelous adventures.

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<sup>1</sup> *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail* (1888), p. 184. The talismans of the grail castle, as our argument shows, are connected with the T.D.D. (fairies) who were the lords of plenty and increase in Irish mythology. This is also Miss Weston's view, *From Ritual to Romance*, p. 19, but she thinks that in the scene at the grail castle we have the ritual of a cult.

[*To be continued*]

## THE MARRIAGES OF EDMUND SPENSER

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The records cited below, while they plainly relate to "Edmund Spenser," in all probability do not refer to the poet, but concern a couple of the half-dozen other Edmund Spensers of the period whose existence is known. We need not fear, therefore, that Spenser was a Bluebeard or a much-married man. He may have married more than once, but the evidence to that effect is still to be sought. What is here adduced merely helps to clear the ground.

Spenser was a poet, sage and serious in Milton's judgment, but nevertheless no ascetic, as any reader of his poetry may judge, and with all the susceptibility to woman's charm which usually besets the poet's temperament.<sup>1</sup> The Rosalind affair may have been purely platonical and regulated by the attenuated conventions of a Renaissance court of love. That is a matter of interpretation. Harvey, as the official mentor and monitor of a promising youth, seems to have been somewhat disturbed over the Rosalindula affair. And there may have been other affairs. Apparently, however, according to the orthodox interpretation of the face of the record, Spenser remained a bachelor until his marriage in 1594 to Elizabeth Boyle. This is considered surprising enough to be made a matter for biographical comment. Collier<sup>2</sup> remarks, "It is unlikely that a man of such a delicate and susceptible mind would remain single until he was more than forty." Grosart<sup>3</sup> notes that "Spenser was extremely susceptible to woman," but does not commit himself to the theory of a former marriage. There are, however, at least two records which need to be explained away before such a theory becomes untenable. The first of these, in point of date, has not been cited in connection with this theory, so far as I can discover. It is contained in the *Middlesex Parish Registers* (ed., W. P. W. Phillimore and Thos. Gurney, London, 1910, at p. 145, under "Marriages at West Drayton, 1568 to 1813"), and reads as follows:

Edm. Spenser and Jone Bre[ttri]dge . . . 21 July, 1586.

<sup>1</sup> Even the temperament of a poet so indubitably sage and serious as Wordsworth, as we have recently learned.

<sup>2</sup> Edition of Spenser, I (1862), xv.

<sup>3</sup> Edition of Spenser, I, 129.

But it is improbable that Spenser the poet was in England in 1586. It is certain that he could not have been in London on July 21, 1586, for his sonnet to Harvey is dated from Dublin July 18, 1586. There were other Edmund Spensers in England at the time. The bridegroom of Jone Brettridge could not have been the poet.<sup>1</sup> This evidence, therefore, must be ruled out of the record.

The second entry is that cited by Mr. William Jackson in *Notes and Queries* (Series IV, Vol. X [1872], p. 244) from the register of Saint Bees, Cumberland,<sup>2</sup> as follows:

1590, 1 December. *Edmundus Spencer et Maria Towerson nupli fuerunt.*

There is no record otherwise of the connection of the poet Spenser with Saint Bees or with Cumberland, but Mr. Jackson notes that Grindal was born there and that Sir Thomas Chaloner the younger, who has been conjectured to be the "Palin" of *Colin Clouts Come Home Again*, was then lord of the manor of Saint Bees. Spenser was in England in 1590, so that the former objection does not hold. This evidence can be ruled out of the record by the arbitrary assumption that this "Edmundus Spencer" must be one of the other Edmund Spensers of the period and cannot be the poet. That it was the poet, however, is rendered slightly less probable by another entry from the same register:

1590. 30 Marcii. *Anna uxor Edmundi Spencer de Whithaven sepulta fuit.*

This Spenser, or Spencer, was, it appears, of Whitehaven, and a former wife Anna was buried at Saint Bees eight months before his marriage to Maria Towerson. But Maria Spencer lived only some sixteen months after her marriage, for a third entry records that,

1592. 14 Aprilis. *Maria uxor Edmundi Spenser de Whithaven sepulta fuit.*

It is improbable that we are here dealing with a record in the life of the poet Spenser, and that from this union Maria Towerson or from the earlier union with the unnamed Anna may have issued the poet's son Sylvanus.<sup>3</sup> Improbable but not impossible. It is a case for the suspension of judgment until further evidence may appear.

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<sup>1</sup> Nor the daughter of the union (probably), the "Florenc" cited by Collier, I, xvi, born August 26, 1587, the daughter of the poet.

<sup>2</sup> Repeated in William Jackson, *Papers and Pedigrees Mainly Relating to Cumberland and Westmoreland*, I (London, 1892), 68.

<sup>3</sup> Probably not more than five or six years old, at the time of the poet's death—the age which he could not have exceeded if he were the issue of the union with Elizabetha Boyle in 1594.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES

*The Evolution of Arthurian Romance from the Beginnings to the Year 1300.* By JAMES DOUGLAS BRUCE. Two volumes. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1923. Pp. x+495 and v+444.

Bruce died just before this compendious work, the fruit of years of arduous toil, was published. One would like to think of it as the coping-stone of his career—a career marked by unfailing devotion to Arthurian romance and by a lucid and engaging insight into some of its major problems. Strongly opposed to what he believed to be "hazardous opinions," he himself clung to the firm ground of written document. The debt of Arthurian stories to Celtic tradition always appeared to him greatly exaggerated. And, in accord with the latter-day "realistic" school of scholarship, of which Foerster and Bédier are in large measure the progenitors, he did not think that the romances were "in any essential degree, the reflection of a great body of oral tradition (see Preface, p. iv)." Upon this ground—one is tempted to call it "theory"—he took his stand, and the present study is the final expression of his ideas.

It is also the first scholarly review of the evolution of Arthurian romance, as such, starting with "the earliest recorded traditions concerning Arthur" and reaching to the florescence of the romances in the immense Grail-Lancelot Cycle of the thirteenth century. As the excellent editor of *La Mort Artu* (1910), perhaps the best branch of the Cycle, Bruce's interest was of course centered on this later stage. He is not, and does not claim to be, a first-hand student of the earliest origins. If then he betrays a bias in favor of one angle of the field, this is due in part to the size of his project, in part to the hypothetical plane upon which the discussion of origins necessarily moves, and in part to the fact that an adequate history of Arthurian romance would demand a breadth and depth of knowledge which no *single* person at present can be said to possess. It does not detract from Bruce's reputation to say that his work is above all "useful." It does not solve problems, nor does it always state them adequately; but when all deductions are made, it remains a first-class survey, accompanied by full bibliographical references, written in admirable English, and evincing a courtesy and consideration toward other scholars which, in this field particularly, is worthy of comment.

In Chrétien's *Erec* (vss. 1690-91) we read:

Devant toz les buens chevaliers  
Doit estre Gauvains li premiers.

Like this "earlier" Sir Gawain, Bruce mingled *sans* with *cortesie* to an eminent degree.

The treatise is divided into four parts, dealing respectively with: I, "Traditions, Chronicles, Lays and Romances" (219 pages, of which only 28 are devoted to Chrétien and his successors); II, "The Holy Grail" (146 pages); III, "The Prose Romances" (157 pages), and IV, "Discussions" (the bulk of the second volume). Thus, the most interesting part of the work is the first volume. For, although the *Didot-Perceval* and the *Perlesvaus* are relegated to the second volume, Bruce differs from Miss Weston and Lot in holding that the former is not by the hand of Robert de Boron, and, unlike Gaston Paris, Brugger, and myself, he regards the latter romance as a late and unimportant re-working of the *Perceval* theme. A comment on the correctness of this opinion will be found toward the end of the present review.

Coming now to the more controversial aspects of the book, we are not surprised that Bruce accepts the "historicity" of Arthur (*Artorius*, the name of a Roman *gens*), though he is at some pains to admit that the hero of Badon Hill, first mentioned by Nennius, bears the same name as a young Irish prince who perished in 596, and as three other Welsh or Irish persons of an early date.

Nennius' account (ninth century), he says, "testifies to the continued growth of wonderful legends about the British chieftain." It is natural then, he adds, "to find that in the year 1113 stories concerning Arthur were firmly established in Brittany and Cornwall." But if they were, why dismiss as a pious fraud the *librum vetustissimum* mentioned by Geoffrey of Monmouth as his source? The chances are about even that in 1137 a collection of Arthur stories in the Vernacular existed. And, if so, it may have been in a written form.

The question has considerable interest because it involves a principle of research. Some fifty years later, Chrétien de Troyes names as his source a *livre* given him, as he affirms, by Philip of Flanders (Geoffrey's had purported to come from Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford). Obviously, the case is similar. Yet this *livre* is accepted as authentic. I fully agree with Bruce that the citation of "fictitious" sources became a medieval convention (Bruce could have quoted the Prologue to *Don Quixote*), but when did it arise and to what extent was it used? The reader of this survey might well have expected a consideration of this problem; or, if that was not feasible, a more judicious analysis of each particular case. For Bruce also rejects Kiot (Guyot) as a source of Wolfram (p. 322), Bledhericus as a narrator of the *Tristan* (p. 156), Walter Map as the author of a *Lancelot* (p. 371), and the Latin book on the Grail referred to by Helinand and the *Perlesvaus* (p. 255). One may err fully as much by assuming that *quod non est in actis, non est in mundo*, as by assuming the reverse. Bledhericus—"famosus ille fabulator"—sounds authentic to the modern folklorist; to the "literalist" he means nothing. Why? The only answer that I can give is, because his "sayings" have not been handed down.

In my opinion, a similar fallacy underlies Bruce's otherwise excellent treatment of the Breton *lais*. On page 66 he writes:

There is no convincing evidence that before Marie de France narrative lays existed at all in French literature. She doubtless was the creator of the *genre* and her genius seems to have dominated it during the brief vogue which it enjoyed.

The reader will at once recognize the theory of Foulet, to whom Bruce gives justifiable credit. Meyer-Lübke, however, had recently pointed out (*ZFSL*, XLIII, 162) that such compositions as the *Lai del Cor(n)*, earlier than Marie, are not so easily disposed of as Foulet and others might think. To call this *lai* a *fabliau* is hardly in accord with the facts; there are linguistic reasons for concluding that its source was Breton or Cornish, while the list of Arthurian names it contains are significant (see, also, Cross, *Modern Philology*, X, 289-99, for Welsh and Irish parallels). Thus, though Marie be the most distinguished representative of the *genre*, the argument is not wholly in favor of her being its creator. On the contrary, such evidence as we possess points the other way.<sup>1</sup>

Finally, when with Chrétien he reaches the "romance," Bruce fails to give any consistent account of the origin of the *genre*—an account which it seems should have preceded his analysis of the romances themselves (see my article in *Romania*, XLIV, 14 ff.<sup>2</sup>)—and, further, he takes Brown's *Dissertation* on the *Ivain* as "a typical case" of how the debt to Irish (Celtic) sources has been exaggerated. Since my own review of Brown's *Dissertation* is cited in support of Bruce's view, it behooves me to say that the analysis of Brown appears to me somewhat misleading. Bruce was unacquainted with Zenker's important summary of the *Ivain* question (*Beiheft*, LXX, 1-176, see now, *Modern Philology*, XX, 102 ff.), and his statement that

Most readers will agree with us that it would be impossible for the French poet to extract from such a story (Cuchulinn's Sick Bed) the plot of *Yvain*. . . . Except that in each the lover runs mad, on losing his mistress, the two stories have virtually nothing in common. . . .

is hardly a just version of the case. For if "most readers" do agree on this point with Bruce, it may be only because they have not consulted Brown, who proves that the Irish and the French stories have more in common than the fact that "in each the lover runs mad," and whose main argument is that the two stories are connected as to *type* rather than as to derivation. "The *Ivain*," says Brown (p. 95), "must in origin be a Celtic story of a journey to the other world, of the *type* [the italics are mine] conveniently represented by the *Serglige Conculaind*." Personally, I hold a view somewhat different from Brown, but I cannot see that Bruce's argument refutes him on this particular point.

<sup>1</sup> See, also, Ezio Levi, *I lais brettoni e la leggenda di Tristano*, Perugia, 1918, pp. 99 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Under the heading "Lancelot," Bruce does refer to the article, but the title *San et matière*, as he gives it, should of course read *Sans et matière*. So, too, *sans* and not *san* in the same footnote (p. 195.)

On the other hand, I am inclined to share Bruce's view that the narrative of the *Irland* is "obviously a composite one" (p. 120), and I gladly admit, after reading the forceful pages on Chrétien's narrative art (pp. 120-23), that the *Cligès* is the "proper starting-point" for any study of Chrétien's method of composition. Yet, due allowance must also be made for a "source" that is "written" (*Cligès*) as opposed to one that is oral and folkloristic (*Irland*). The reference that Bruce makes to Faral, in this connection, appears to me to have no value.

The pivots upon which the developed Arthur-story revolves are the Lancelot theme and the Holy Grail. Bruce, I believe, is at his best in tracing the love motif of Lancelot, from its remote origins to its climactic close in the *Mort Artu*. His literary taste is almost unerring. With great acuteness, for example, he shows how Mordred, whom Lancelot had replaced as the lover of Guinevere, must reappear at the end of the Cycle as the child of Arthur's incest. "Thus," he says (p. 441), "as in the legend of Oedipus, the sin of the father, though unconsciously perpetrated, brings with it the blind and terrible retribution of the Fates." Incidentally, we learn that the disparity between the various parts of the completed Cycle makes it impossible that one *remanieur*, let alone one "author," is responsible for the final form that the story took (by 1216). This disposes of the theory of Lot (*Etude sur le Lancelot en Prose*), although Bruce carefully differentiates that error from the many excellencies of Lot's work.

But again we observe in this portion of the book that although the abduction of *Guinevere* (forming the nucleus of the *Charrete*) is traced to undoubtedly Celtic origin, the story of the Grail, the *Ensorlement Merlin*, and the Passing of Arthur are set down as independent of Celtic tradition.

Regarding the *Ensorlement* (the story of Merlin and Viviane), one may allow that, since the fairy-mistress motif has been "overworked," an oriental source is among the possibilities. Certainly, "the wise man deceived by a woman" has an analogue in current medieval tales about Aristotle, Hippocrates, and Vergil. But an analogue is not yet a source, and Miss Paton's analysis of the *Niniane and Merlin* (see her *Fairy Mythology*, chap. xiii) leads me to think that the story may well have had several sources rather than one. In short, we know that the *matière de Rome* and the *matière de Bretagne* were constantly borrowing characters, incidents, and even atmosphere from one another (there are Celtic fairies in the *Thèbes*, and Kittredge's masterly study of the Lay of Sir Orfeo has demonstrated how a classical story was adapted to a Celtic type); so that, again, as in the case of the *Irland*, the narrative material is "obviously a composite one."

The Passing of Arthur would be another case in point. Bruce did not live to see Cross's important paper in the *Manly Studies* (Chicago, 1923, p. 284). Here we have a clear demonstration that "the passing of Arthur . . . originated in a Celtic tradition similar to that attached to certain Irish heroes and best preserved in the *Táin bó Fráich*." What makes the parallel so striking, in my opinion, is that Fraech is the lover of Finnabair, which is the same name as the Arthurian *Guinevere*. The Irish tradition is

the chronological start; the Passing of Arthur in the *Mort Artu* is the completion of the narrative form. As is to be expected, the Passing of Arthur contains many extraneous elements, which are the additions and adaptations of many other story-tellers. It could hardly have been otherwise, and nothing is gained, it seems to me, by assuming that the *procédé* was different.

Hence, in both of the cases mentioned, I believe a Celtic source was used.

Let us now conclude with a consideration of the Grail. As of old, to go on the Grail quest is to risk one's reputation. Bruce, and rightly, is wary of the "siege perilous." He gives us a thoroughgoing account of the outstanding hypotheses: chap. i, "The Theory of Christian Origin"; chap. ii, "The Theory of Celtic Origin"; and chap. iii, "The Ritual Theory." For the first time the student of Arthurian romance is presented with a synoptic record of the leading points of view. Again, one admires Bruce's remarkable fairness, for he himself has always held the first hypothesis; to him the Grail is of Christian origin.

In some respects, he is indisputably right: Chrétien's phrase

Que l'oiste qui el graal vient [Perceval, vs. 7793]

agrees with the term employed in the Roman mass: *hanc immaculatam hostiam*; Robert de Boron "identifies the Grail . . . with the dish of the Last Supper and . . . with the chalice of the sacrament." One might even agree that Byzantine usage underlay "the conception of a girl bearing the eucharist," and there is nothing foreign to medieval practice in the "adaptation of sacred materials to the purposes of romance." The fundamental question, however, is whether these aspects of the story belonged to it at the start? Are they not secondary? Can they not be explained more logically as accretions, due to a progressive process of Christianization—such as is represented in the later shift from Perceval to Galahad as the Grail hero?

Granting even, as Bruce states (p. 248), that it was Chrétien himself who added to the Grail *motif* those other *motifs* of "removing a spell by putting a question" and "what is known in the study of folk-tales as the Great Fool *motif*," there still remain in Chrétien (and even in Robert) certain essential features which no theory of Christian origin has yet been able to explain. One of these is the obvious pagan setting in which the Grail ceremony takes place, and another, that the "agrarian" aspects of the ritual, though doubtless more marked in Chrétien's continuators than in himself, are in the light of the studies by Frazer, Mannhardt, von Baudissin, and others, antecedent to Christianity. Are we to assume that they were "added" to an original Christian setting by the medieval story-tellers?

As to the first of these aspects, Bruce (p. 274) is compelled to grant that "the hall of the Grail as described by Chrétien" is like "the one in the palace of Tara, as described in the Irish sagas." (See the *Elliott Studies*, Baltimore, I (1911), 19 ff.). But, he says,

We are dealing with a romance—with a narrative of a fantastic kind. . . . Moving in the atmosphere of a folk tale, the poet may have purposely made his description archaic.

If I interpret the purport of this statement correctly, the reader is to think that it is more likely that Chrétien "made his description archaic" than that he got this piece of description from an "archaic (in this case, Celtic) source." I firmly believe that the latter hypothesis is the more probable.

To be sure, the detail in question cannot "turn the scales definitely in favor of the Celtic theory"; but when taken together with Brown's (and Nutt's) studies on the *Four Jewels of the Tuatha Dé Danaan*,<sup>1</sup> viz., "The Stone of Destiny," "The Cauldron of the Dagda," "The Spear of Lug," and "The Sword of Lug," and in view of the fact that the boyhood exploits of Perceval and the episode of the drops of blood on the snow have analogues in Celtic stories, the "detail" about the Grail castle gains considerably in importance. And this brings us to that other feature: the agrarian side of the ritual.

Bruce does me the honor to consider my own views in a separate chapter, "The Ritual Theory." His main objection to this theory, which he thinks "does not get beyond the realm of ingenious hypothesis," is that "The rites of the Christian church itself . . . developed under the influence of the old pagan mysteries," and that "where we have such features common to Christian legend and the ancient cults, it is much more likely that the Grail romances derived them from the former than from any supposed underground perpetuation of the latter (p. 289)." This would be true if the vegetation rites in question were preserved in the Christian form. But, as Miss Weston and I (*From Ritual to Romance*, Cambridge, 1920, and *PMLA*, XXIV, 365 ff.) have endeavored to show, many of the features of the vegetation rite—and among them the most striking—are peculiar to the Grail story and the pagan cults, but absent from the Christian form. Hence if they are *more* than analogues, there must be some connection. I note that in the last number of the *Romania* (XLIX, 437, footnote) even so cautious a person as Ferdinand Lot remarks:

Il est visible que l'auteur de la *Quête* ne comprend rien au Roi Pêcheur, à la lance, au Graal. Il est à cent lieues de se douter de quoi il retourne. Nous savons, nous, grâce aux travaux de Miss J. L. Weston, qu'il y a à la base de la légende une initiation manquée, puis réussie, à un mystère païen.

The problem, then, awaiting an answer is what "particular" pagan ritual will explain the Grail?

Miss Weston, in her various studies, has sought the particular pagan ritual in the cult of Adonis, which (see Bruce, p. 282) "she supposes to have persisted down to the twelfth century through the agency of occult sects." In Chrétien's continuator Wauchier, a translator of Latin saints' lives, we do find a version of the Grail ceremony similar to the well-known rites of Adonis. But, again, an analogue is not *yet* a source. Neither Miss Weston

<sup>1</sup> Bruce is mistaken in saying (p. 274) that Brown's "sole authority on which this grouping of the talismans rests is the seventeenth-century Irish historian, Keating." Brown actually states (p. 236 of his *Notes on Celtic Cauldrons of Plenty*, in the "Kittredge Papers") that the talismans "are best described in the *Cath Maige Turedh*." The MS of this text is late, but the grammatical forms in the text make it earlier than the fifteenth century, while "the antiquity of the tradition concerning the four jewels seems indisputable."

nor I have in reality established that such or such Mediterranean cult was a source of the Grail. What we have done is to show that the Grail has a meaning if explained as a vegetation rite. And what possible meaning can it have if its origin be merely a much-confused rehearsal of the Christian mass? A progressive Christianization appears logical, in harmony with the spirit of the twelfth century; any other process seems to us illogical, in fact, absurd.

On the other hand, Brown—leaving aside all arguments in behalf of a ritual—would trace the Grail story back to the Irish (Celtic) conception of the *Tuatha Dé Danaan* (see his articles now appearing in *Modern Philology*). An undeniable connection with the *Tuatha Dé Danaan* is the Arthurian name of *Nut* (Welsh *Nudd*), Irish *Nuatha*. The latter is a brother of the *Dagda* (obviously an epithet, like *roi pescheor*), who possesses the cauldron of plenty, and has himself been identified (see Vendryes, *RC*, XXXIX, 384) with our Fisher King. In any case, magic vessels, most of which are cauldrons of plenty, abound in Irish and Welsh lore,<sup>1</sup> and are always associated with an other-world abode. Thus, Brown's reference to the *Four Jewels*—corresponding to the Grail, the lance, the siege perilous, and the Grail sword—seems to me convincing, in spite of Bruce's contrary view, mentioned before.

At the same time, I hold that Brown's hypothesis would gain strength if he would follow up Alfred Nutt's suggestion (*Voyage of Bran*, II, 189) that the *Tuatha Dé Danaan* themselves have agrarian significance. Relying on the "Conquest of the Sid," one of the fore-tales of the famous *Táin bó Cúalnge* (*ibid.*, p. 188), which tells what means the sons of *Mil* employed before they were "able to harvest corn and drink the milk of their cows," Nutt concludes:

And when this rôle is found connected with the practice of ritual sacrifice, the conclusion of the true nature of the *Tuatha dé Danaan* seems inevitable [p. 189].

As holders and givers of life, the *Tuatha Dé Danaan* are alike deathless and capable of manifestation under the most diverse forms . . . hence their wizard might; hence, too, the attribute of deathlessness, so marked a feature of themselves and their land (p. 195). That is, even the ritualistic side of the Grail story, cropping up in such numerous forms, may have its ultimate background in Celtic folk tales, which, of course, would preserve material long ago discarded by Irish heroic saga. To affirm, as Bruce does (p. 281), that "our knowledge of any Celtic agrarian cult is simply *nil*, so the way is barred to any progress in that direction," is a *petitio principii*: he appears to assume that such agrarian features as have already been found<sup>2</sup> are not agrarian. And he seems to me to forget that much may depend on leaving the doors of inquiry wide open.<sup>3</sup>

The last portion of Bruce's study deals with the relation of the Pseudo-Robert Cycle and that which goes under the name of *Map* (the Vulgate

<sup>1</sup> See Brown, "Kittredge Papers," pp. 235 ff.

<sup>2</sup> I refer the reader, in particular, to Nutt's account (p. 184) of the *Dinnshenchas* of *Carman*.

<sup>3</sup> A valuable statement on this point will be found in Singer's study of the *Lanzelet* (*Aufsätze und Vorträge*, Tübingen, 1912, p. 151). This title seems to be lacking in Bruce's bibliography.

Cycle). Here he accepts, with certain modifications, the well-known view of Wechssler (*Ueber die verschiedenen Redaktionen*). Here, too, his own researches serve to illuminate the subject. All of this latter portion is valuable, since it enables the reader to find his way through a maze of monographs and MS material.

Especially noteworthy is the "discussion" on Robert de Boron (Vol. II, chap. x). Bruce makes clear that Robert wrote only *one* redaction of his metrical poems,<sup>1</sup> and he is undoubtedly right that the name *Hebron* (in the metrical *Joseph*) is taken from the Old Testament, where it is the name of one of the Levites to whom the Ark of the Covenant was intrusted. But Robert did not "belong . . . originally to Picardy" (II, 114); he came from the Franche-Comté, as a study of his dialect shows; and it seems altogether probable that the name *Bron* (variant of *Hebron*) is due to a conscious identification of the Celtic *Bran* with the biblical *Hebron*. Moreover, it is incorrect to state that Pietsch errs in his hypothesis about the Spanish *Baladro* (see I, 460, note), as it seems clear that this text is merely a *Merlin and Suite*, and not an "incomplete Spanish version of the lost *Conte del Brait*" (see *MP*, XI, 9).

Finally, while one may agree that the *Didot-Perceval* in its present form is not by Robert himself, it is hard for me to believe that Robert did not intend to have Perceval, the son of Alain, finally appear as the Grail hero. And, if so, the *Didot-Perceval* may well have been "a continuation of Robert de Boron's *Joseph-Merlin*," at a fairly early date. In short, the burden of proof seems to me to rest on Bruce's contrary view, and not on those scholars who consider the romance to be antecedent to the Vulgate Cycle. In any case, Bruce has unearthed no new "facts" in regard to this important question. The same observation holds for his view of the *Perlesraus*. My own view is that this romance was composed, in the interests of Glastonbury Abbey, sometime between 1202 and 1212. If so, it must have been written before the Vulgate Cycle, and, as others have maintained, have been a source of the Cycle. This would be contrary to Bruce's hypothesis, as it is also to that of Lot. Since Bruce gives complete references to the material I have adduced, I may rest the case with a well-known quotation from Thomas' *Tristan* (vss. 2154-56):

Ne voil jo vers eus estriver;  
Tengent le lur e jo le men:  
La raisun s'i provera ben!

I conclude this long review by recommending Bruce's treatise to all students of medieval literature. For sheer information, clearly presented, it is without an equal in the alluring field of Arthurian studies. It stimulates thought and stirs the imagination; it opens the way for further investigation. What greater assets are there for a work of erudition?

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<sup>1</sup> For a similar view and a discussion of Robert's dialect, etc., see my recent article in *The Manly Anniversary Studies*, Chicago, 1923, pp. 3-14.

*The Influence of Milton on English Poetry.* By RAYMOND DEXTER HAVENS. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1922. Pp. xii+722.

This volume assembles one of the most extensive masses of detail to be found in any recent work of American scholarship. Criticism and imitation of Milton, especially in the eighteenth century, are exhaustively presented in the text, and in the elaborate appendixes are extensive bibliographies and long lists of parallels found in Milton's most notable admirers. The whole is no stately pleasure dome; it is rather a quarry from which scholars will in years to come abstract many a useful block of building material.

The excellences of the study are almost entirely those of material, and the defects are almost entirely those of method. As a compendium of miscellaneous information about the vogue of Milton in the eighteenth century there can be no doubt of the usefulness of Mr. Havens' work; as a clear demonstration of the nature of Milton's influence on English poetry, it is less satisfactory. The author has almost suffered the fate of that regretted savant, M. Fulgence Tapir—his notes, multiplied by the hundred and by the thousand, have at the last become an uncontrollable avalanche. They cannot be reduced to structural order.

The volume is divided into three "parts." The first deals with "The Attitude of the Eighteenth Century towards Milton" in three chapters, each of which overlaps the others in subject-matter. Part II, on "The Influence of *Paradise Lost*," has a preliminary chapter (iv) containing material, some of which would seem to belong in Part I. Chapters v-xi deal with the more important followers of Milton, arranged in roughly chronological order, and then chapters xii-xvi take up the influence of the great epic on various genres which use blank verse. Part III (four chapters) treats of the influence of the shorter poems. These divisions are evidently not made on a single, unifying principle of analysis, nor are they mutually exclusive. In view of the recognized complexity of the task one is inclined to be lenient, but it is difficult to be so. When we find, within the individual chapters, authors straying needlessly from their strictly chronological places—Dryden (p. 118) is a typical case—when one finds amid the wreckage of unhappy, far-off epics information to the effect that certain old volumes used had existed with uncut pages for a century or more, that there was a statue of Milton as *Il Penseroso* in Vauxhall Gardens, that W. E. Wall's *Christ Crucified* "stands in the Harvard Library next to *In Memoriam*," etc., one sees that in conducting us through an eighteenth-century *dépôt des épaves*, Mr. Havens intends to call our attention to everything, and that the items are too varied to admit of orderly arrangement.

The moral is that even when one collects with thoroughness and accuracy—as Mr. Havens does—it is dangerous to use everything collected. In the present case, it may be urged, there is a commendable attempt to show

the *amount* of Milton's influence by piling up details. It seems doubtful if such an attempt is commendable, unless the popularity of a given work has been questioned. Everybody knows that the influence of Milton was enormous, and literary criticism has no instruments by which to judge the exact quantity of an influence. Certainly Mr. Havens himself would hardly hold that his summary at the bottom of page 684 (indicating that *Paradise Lost* has influenced 1,239 poems, *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, 449, and the remaining poems 150) has any particular value.

What we are really interested in is the nature and importance of Milton's influence. That can be determined only by neglecting trivial details and concentrating upon essential qualities of Milton's appeal. Analysis of Milton's art will of course be a necessary preliminary, but Mr. Havens' analysis (chap. iv) is too much concerned with the externals of Milton's technique, and at the end he fails to derive from the *disiecta membra* of the poet's qualities any valuable conclusion. "No Man" (to parody Young)<sup>1</sup> "can be like" Milton, "by imitating any of his *particular Works*. . . . The Genius and Spirit of such great Men must be collected from the *whole*; and when thus we are possess'd of it, we must exert its Energy in *Subjects* and *Designs* of our own." If one wishes to know what the "genius and spirit" of Milton meant to his disciples, one will, on consulting this volume, turn away from its beautifully printed pages with a mind blurred by multitudinous detail and with no clear answer to any central question. There is too much preoccupation with such externals as diction and verse form, and even here the interpretation of materials collected seems capable of improvement.

But when all is said, the richness of the material justifies this particular example of collecting facts. Certainly collecting in itself is of no value unless done on a great scale. Few have done more of it in recent American volumes than has Mr. Havens, and most students of the eighteenth century will to the end of their days go "prospecting" frequently in this volume.

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*On the History of the English Present Inflections Particularly -th and -s.*

By ERIK HOLMQUIST. Heidelberg, 1922. Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung. Pp. xvi+194.

This is a thorough and comprehensive study of the subject-matter indicated by the title. Probably its most striking contribution is the author's theory of the origin of -s in the third person singular in the Northern dialect. His opinion is that the second person singular influenced the second person plural so that the latter adopted the former's ending (-s),

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Mr. Havens on p. 159.

that then the first and third persons plural adopted it, and that finally the third person singular began to use it, by analogy with the second singular and the entire plural. The way in which the Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels and the Durham Ritual confirm this theory is startling. It seems strange that later the author makes no effort to give a reason for the fact that *-s* is more tenacious in the third person singular than in the plural.

After discussing the origin of the third person singular ending in *-s*, the author studies in detail its history until its establishment as the standard form. His consideration of the relation of *-s* and *-eth* in the London English of the sixteenth century is particularly interesting. From the Cely letters, he argues that *-s* had become dominant in colloquial speech by 1500. Thence it passed into verse, being used first in rimes and later (by Surrey) within the line, when a short form was needed for meter. Surrey and his followers used *-eth* conventionally as a long form for meter, though one would expect the *-e-* to be syncopated there as it was in *-(e)s*. The *-eth* form remains standard in prose until nearly 1600, a fact "which is evidently due to traditional writing and to the conservative character of the written language."

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

J. R. HULBERT

*Fourteenth Century Verse and Prose*. Edited by KENNETH SISAM.

Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921.

*Anglo-Saxon and Norse Poems*. Edited and Translated by N. KERSHAW. Cambridge University Press, 1922.

*The Laws of the Earliest English Kings*. Edited and Translated by F. L. ATTENBOROUGH, M.A., Cambridge University Press, 1922.

*The Owl and the Nightingale*. Edited with Introduction, Texts, Notes, Translation, and Glossary, by J. W. H. ATKINS. Cambridge University Press, 1922.

*Social Life in the Days of Piers Plowman*. By D. CHADWICK. Cambridge University Press, 1922.

*The Pastons and Their England*. By H. S. BENNETT. Cambridge University Press, 1922.

The publication of this group of handsomely printed books presumably indicates a developing interest in medieval English studies in England. But their absolute value is less than their promise of future activity. An American must surmise that they are planned for uses peculiar to England and her colonies. Thus, the absence of a glossary in the first three (though

a glossary is mentioned in Sisam's Introduction, p. xliii) makes them useless for our university classes, and the translations present in the first four are unnecessary for such purposes.

Despite these strange disadvantages, two of the text publications have real value, Sisam's for the discriminating and suggestive Introduction, the head-notes to the various selections, and the textual notes; Atténborough's because it presents the laws in much more compact and handy form than Lieberman's great edition does. The second of the books listed is a puzzle. Why should one publish in a single volume six Anglo-Saxon and seven Norse poems? What unity exists in the grouping of the particular poems included, for instance, why print "The Battle of Brunanburh" and omit "The Battle of Maldon"? The edition of *The Owl and the Nightingale* is a splendid and thorough piece of work, but when one realizes that it is in no important respect superior to Professor Wells's edition, one is appalled at the waste of time and energy in the preparation of it.

The last two belong to a series—"Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought"—edited by G. G. Coulton. They are systematic compilations of the evidences as to social life which their authors find in the two works named. They should be useful in making readily available that class of information.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

J. R. HULBERT

*Oceana*. By JAMES HARRINGTON. Edited with notes by S. B. Liljegren. Publications of the New Society of Letters at Lund, 4. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.

Dr. Liljegren has issued the first of what promises to be a series of studies on Harrington and his *Oceana*. Following upon text and notes, which we have here, will come a volume on the *Oceana* and related problems, and another on Harrington's famous theory of the balance of property and its historical significance. Some of the notes in the present volume contain material for what will later appear as articles or monographs, and indeed two such have already done so.

The text here presented makes a readable page and wherever tested seems to be accurate. The original is set up in a variety of type fonts and something approaching the original variety is here reproduced. The two copies in the Columbia Library, however, show the bastard title-page in capitals and lower-case letters, not wholly in capitals as Dr. Liljegren prints it. The same is true of at least two words in the title-page itself. Dr. Liljegren also prints as follows:

PRINTED FOR D. PAKEMAN, AND ARE TO BE SOLD/AT HIS SHOP AT THE RAINBOW IN FLEET-STREET,

Both Columbia copies have:

Printed by J. Streeter, for Livewell Chap-/man, and are to be sold at his Shop at/the Crown in Popes-Head-Alley, 1656

I do not find that Dr. Liljegren draws attention to the variant title-pages. Harrington had difficulty in getting his book printed probably, as tradition has it, because Cromwell suspected in it some lurking danger to his rule. It is an interesting book; no mere utopia, but a practical plan of government, which Harrington and his disputants at the Rota hoped to see presently adopted *in toto*. This of course never came to pass, but Harrington foresaw the course which England's colonial empire was to follow, and the book was not without influence on the American Constitution. *Oceana* deserves the wider and more intelligent study which Dr. Liljegren's labors will win for it. His is the first adequate reprint, and his notes are a mine of learning.

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*Wordsworth in a New Light.* By EMILE LEGOUIS. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1923.

In this lecture, brief, lucid, judicious, and humane, the author of *La Jeunesse de Wordsworth* characterizes the youthful Wordsworth in the light of the documents relating to his life in France in 1792 which have been discovered by himself and Professor G. M. Harper. It is needless to retell here the story of the connection with Annette Vallon. When first revealed to the world in 1916 Professor Harper's narrative seemed to be of the kind to cause the charitable to grieve and the profane to scoff; but the complete history of the poet's French love affair, when correlated with his character, his circumstances, and his youth, is as natural as "the extreme naturalness of natural children under the Georges." The phrase quoted is Professor Legouis'; and to his instances of the ingenuous frankness with which our ancestors accepted the arrival of such children might be added the case of Harriet Smith in *Emma* and the several other allusions to relatives with arms bearing the bar-sinister in the novels of so prim a little lady as Jane Austen. When, in addition to this fact, it is remembered that Wordsworth was deeply influenced by the writings of William Godwin, the theoretical adversary of matrimony, though he married twice, and when one notes the carefully veiled and softened allusions to the poet's passionate temperament which, despite repeated revisions in later years, were allowed to survive in the text of certain poems, the whole affair passes before one's mental vision with entire clarity.

There is no truth in the statement occasionally met with that Annette's family prohibited a marriage with the young Englishman. Wordsworth

returned to England simply because he lacked funds, and with the evident determination to go back as soon as possible to Annette to marry her. War intervened. The poet's enthusiasm for the Revolution gradually waned; his latent patriotism as gradually flamed up in his heart. His conscience troubled him for long; but, as most other poets would have done, "he gradually freed himself from his remorse by uttering it" in a series of poems upon forsaken wives and unwedded mothers. The mysterious and wholly English Lucy of the little group of poems written in Germany came to stand between Wordsworth and his French love. And gradually the deepening regard for the woman who was to be his wife alienated his affection still farther from Annette.

And so it came about that when peace was temporarily restored it found Wordsworth on the eve of marriage with Mary Hutchinson. He and Dorothy, after consultation with an unnamed "Frenchman" in London (mentioned in Dorothy's *Journal*), journeyed to Calais, there to meet Mme Vallon and her daughter and Wordsworth's, Caroline, now a girl of ten. These strangely assorted people, bound together by ties of memory, severed by years of war, and by nationality and political opinions and temperaments, were together for a month. In the words of George Crabbe:

It might some wonder in a stranger move,  
That these together could have talked of love.

They parted in friendship; it speaks well for Wordsworth that he and Annette parted in friendship—she to bring up her daughter with the aid of an allowance from the father; he to marry Mary Hutchinson. As a whole the story is one of strength rather than weakness; but one's judgment upon Wordsworth's decision to blot out all record of it, if possible, cannot be so favorable.

Professor Legouis closes his admirable discourse with the question which must often face the literary historian who comes unaware upon some personal secret in the life of some great man or woman to whom he has devoted long years of study. Is it right to rescue from oblivion what has been purposely hidden? "Might not edification be the aim of criticism as well as of poetry? . . . Is truth so absolute a good in itself?" The words of St. Jerome (so impressively cited by Mr. Hardy in one of his prefaces) are to the point: "If an offence come by the truth, better is it that the offence cometh than that the truth be concealed." Professor Legouis' final paragraph is a paraphrase of this sturdy declaration.

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